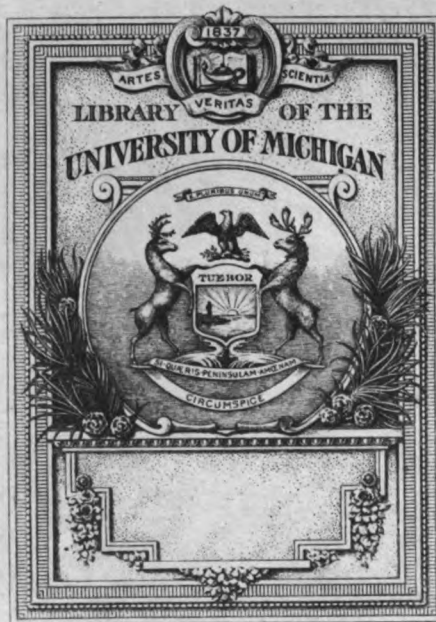


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# THE ROMANIC REVIEW





# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND  
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS, NOTES, NEWS AND  
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE ROMANCE  
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by

HENRY ALFRED TODD and RAYMOND WEEKS

With the cooperation of

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LUCIEN FOULET

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and of

The Hispanic Society of America

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<p style="text-align: center;"><i>From the Educational Review</i> November, 1922</p> <p>BOVÉE'S</p> <p>Première</p> <p>Année de</p> <p>Français</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">“Teachers of French have been waiting for this book with impatience. They have wanted a grammar treating pronunciation practically, as an integral part of each lesson, not as a separate science to be learned at the beginning and seldom applied afterward. Mr. Bovée uses phonetics with common sense and authority and drives his points home by means of varied and ingenious repetitions.”</p>	<p><b>GINN AND COMPANY</b></p> <p>Boston</p> <p>New York</p> <p>Chicago</p> <p>London</p>
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# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. XIV. — JANUARY-MARCH, 1923 — No. I

*EL GIARDENO* OF MARINO JONATA AGNONESE:

AN ITALIAN POEM OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

## INTRODUCTORY

IN the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples, among the earliest monuments of the Italian literature, is preserved in manuscript a poem entitled *El Giardino*; its author was a certain friar from the town of Agnone, Marino Jonata. The poem is an imitation of the *Divina Comedia*; it was published in 1490, and is regarded as one of the rarest "cimelia" of early Italian printing. Being well worthy of the attention of the studious, it is here republished in part, together with an account of the manuscript, of the incunabulum, of the life of the author, and of the literary aspects of the poem. Facsimiles of the manuscript and of the incunabulum are introduced throughout the work, and a bibliography is appended.

## CHAPTER I

### THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript of *El Giardino* is marked No. XIII C 13; it measures 280 × 210 millimeters, and consists of 177 leaves of thick paper numbered only on the recto. The pagination is faulty. Leaf 9 is followed by an unnumbered leaf, while the next leaf is numbered 10; leaf 16 is followed by an unnumbered leaf, the next following leaf being numbered 17; leaf 154 is followed by a leaf bearing also the number 154, and then comes leaf 155: after which the numbers, where they appear, are correct up to the final page;

Impensa la prima parte del Giardinoopilato et  
composto dal Angioneſe Martino ad deuoti Chriſtiani  
de fugere leterna morte

Canto p̄ doue induce el Cipzo p̄ ſoa guida

Voto al ſterno del paſſar dun monte

Monte priu p̄ iuuenante

el ſol uelato ⁊ la luce aſcoſa

haudo ognun traſcorſo oltral ponte

Nocte era obſcura ⁊ tenebroſa

ſo ſelecto motito in timore

dubitar al tuoto dicit quicquid poſa

cuato dunche da me ogne furore

in agro lochy diuotamente fiſſi

dando la mente al ſumo redẽptore

O dio eterno diuotamente diſſi

ſtendi la to mano ad me ch̄ prego

dal fango leuarme ſinno lito miſſi

In darmi to luce nō me far nego

⁊ dho nō p̄ta in tal duro calce

qual tu uidi oue amaro ſo ⁊ ſego

Dip̄ ala teza d̄ di le mie ſpalle

ch̄ el ſol tornaffe dubitoſo ſtrau

ch̄e illuſtraſſe tutti munti ⁊ valle

Laſſandari penſer̄i pox qui poſaua

la nocte tranſcorrendo ſe ſuo corſo

ap̄reſſo d̄ ley el di ſe dimoſtraua

Come quilluy ch̄ da tauam e morſo

da uſſe da moſconi ⁊ ſerpentelli

tal ſtimulato ſoſtencualmo dorſo

Nō altrimenti ſe torcon li zitelli

mizando loz magiſtro loz ſaguacra

⁊ gran timore uando dauanto elli

Tal ma mente al tuoto era macta

mizauo oyana ſubito gfortay

come da matre ch̄ el filioz allato



the page-number, however, does not appear on all the leaves, not because they were not numbered, but because in several of them the number has been cut away by too close trimming on the part of the binder. The pagination then is anterior to the binding of the manuscript. It was not made by the author, for the script is different. It was made by someone who in numbering did not read the manuscript and consequently did not notice that some of the pages were missing. In fact, between the leaves numbered 2 and 3 there is missing in the manuscript a leaf which contained the end of the First Canto (from verse 133 to verse 165), and a considerable part of Canto II, Part One (from verse 7 through verse 114). Again, the numeration proceeds from leaf 4 to leaf 5, but here also a leaf is missing, which contained the end of Canto III (from verse 96 to 160), and the beginning of Canto IV, Part One (from verse 1 through verse 81). Similarly, the numeration passes from leaf 96 to leaf 97, while in the manuscript a leaf containing the beginning of the First Canto, Part Three, must have been torn out between them; so also, two leaves which contained the end of the Twenty-sixth Canto and a part of the Twenty-seventh Canto, Part Three, are missing between leaves numbered 138 and 141. These last two pages must have been torn away after the manuscript was paginated.

To sum up, the manuscript originally contained 184 leaves, not to speak of a small leaf bound in between leaves 86 and 87, of which something will be said later.

The binding, up to a few years ago, was in sheepskin, without any cardboard or other lining. It was of a time a little posterior to that of the author. The sheepskin must have been a leaf of some old missal, apparently a palimpsest, since there could be deciphered on it, in Lombard script, some half faded fragments of a Hymn to the Angels.

At a later date the old binding has been replaced by a new one; a regrettable barbarism, since thereby the student has been deprived of one of the most precious external elements for the history of the manuscript.

This manuscript can not have been the one used by the printer since in the incunabulum there are no lacunae caused by the missing



obidente al tutto mi dedi da lato  
 Del fonte suau te mostrero el sito  
 cominzo la donna cō dolce fauella  
 che de inbilo p̄sto ti faro vestito  
 Domanda q̄l ti piace saper più bella  
 como ⁊ quāno p tempo pur vōay  
 chiaro ti faro al mio poter di q̄lla  
 El rustichon p̄o qui rip̄ederay  
 essendo in via del cōuito regale  
 daq̄ fetida cō sete che guay  
 Quātūchel misero monito di tal mal  
 expectar n̄ volse chauerēbe possuto  
 di q̄lo bere che tucti satiar vale  
 Essendo poi p̄ fetido auuto  
 expulso p̄sto fo mandato via  
 dolēnose poi più nō fo veduto  
 Sel iusto de sete angustiato fia  
 la volunta ferme di q̄la sustinere  
 actio che in gloria satiato fia  
 Quiluy chel v̄tre vole qui tenere  
 al suo modo saturo ⁊ ben plino  
 la mēte nō poia col creato auere  
 Bisogno ⁊ p̄ farre a dio vecino  
 esser sobrio ⁊ star semp̄ velgiante  
 arme difensua auer n̄l tuo camino  
 Lauerario di te e pur zelante  
 fot̄ pensieri e semp̄ diuorante  
 cercar ⁊ velgiare di cio e tutto stāte  
 Armato di fe poi securo trouarte  
 che tentation nō tingande si ardito  
 p fragilita caduto p̄sto releuarte  
 fa che in te nō sia di cōtra sito  
 tribulation mūdana pur portaray  
 cō patienza in ogne suo cōuito  
 Lō la q̄l sicuro poi ti troueray  
 la via ti mostra dila gentil ricchezza  
 ⁊ determa gloria che udita boy  
 Questa e la croce dila grāde alteza  
 che ap̄so x̄po ti fara andare  
 q̄sta e q̄la che rinoua gentileza  
 Di te medesimo nō voler scuburo star  
 volgi cō tuo dio esser abnegato  
 cō chiaro vulso p̄ sua via caminare  
 Semp̄ obedire si al tutto dato  
 pouerta ⁊ castita te fian sorelle  
 in carita ⁊ bumilita sta fundato

Son laltre virtu tucte bone ⁊ belle  
 nō voler po farle da te foueste  
 cha gouerno darte n̄ riman da q̄lle  
 Uicia fugi che porta crudel peste  
 al celo leual viso cō tuctol core  
 vidi ⁊ cōp̄idi el turbe li boneste  
 Di gerercbia pensa el dolce odore  
 p la beata corte ti va specchiāno  
 vidi q̄l suau e ⁊ debito bonore  
 A dio facto la beleza cōtemplāno  
 vidi la regina ⁊ dolce matre pia  
 che ognū core dauāto lei cantāno  
 Lō poce ferma dicēno aue Maria

¶ fenisce la secunda parte di  
 Giardeno del Angioneſe do-  
 ne e dicto de ſupliciꝝ ⁊ pene d̄  
 dānati.

¶ A dio gratia Amē.

¶ Comenza la terza parte  
 del Giardeno cōpilato dal  
 Angioneſe al deuoti ⁊ bo-  
 ni xpiani de fugire la eter-  
 na morte done ſe dira dela  
 gloria ⁊ inbilo de beati.

¶ Canto primo como ſono or-  
 dinati el cel. ⁊ done e la cita  
 del paradifo.

b ij

Facsimile of the end of the second part of the incunabulum of El Giardeno.

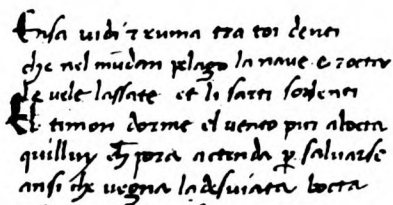
pages of the manuscript. Another copy must have been made of it between the author's death and the time the book was printed, for the manuscript is entirely clean and neat, and bears no traces of having been handled by a compositor. Moreover, the one which was used by the printer must have been the work of a copyist, for there are differences in the orthography.

The handwriting belongs to none of those scripts classified by palæographers under distinctive names. It is neither Gothic nor Roman, Lombard nor Italic. It is vertical; something between the printed type of the early incunabula and our modern "round hand." The writing is neat and accurate; the ink black, sometimes of a lighter shade, sometimes of a darker. Only the first lines of the *terzinas* have the initial letter in capital, a part of the initial character in each case being done in black ink and a part in red. The titles of the *cantos* are rubricated throughout. The initial letter of each *canto* is large, written in carmine or in blue, or mixed of carmine and blue; and though these initials are not models of the art of the miniaturist, they are not lacking in a certain suggestion of merit.

Not infrequently certain closely related words are found combined, such as prepositions with articles, articles with nouns, pronouns with verbs. For example, *alloro* for *a loro*; *dun* for *di un*, *d'un*; *oltral* for *oltre al*, *oltr'al*, *oltra il*, *oltra'l*; *locchy* for *li occhy*, *l'occhy*.

The pages of the text are crowded with glosses, marginal notes, explanations, quotations, etc., frequently of such a length that they amount to more than the corresponding text itself. Generally in the text of the poem itself there are few abbreviations, only certain letters or syllables, such as *r*, the *con*, the *d* between vowels, being represented by special signs. Not so with the marginal notes, which are thorny with abbreviations, ligatures, reference marks, conventional signs, entire words represented by a single character; sometimes leaving even the professional student of manuscripts in difficulty or doubt. The notes are composed exclusively in Latin.

The manuscript is an autograph. Erasures and insertions are not infrequent. Sometimes an entire *terzina* has been added in the



Ala dona mi uoler col uolto piangendo  
farteli signo de uoler parlare  
ley mi dice. taci en tenendo

**P**ore Hora torzindi manuelgnare  
de l'infirno sin pocho poter tenere  
tutti peccatori delli uora andare

Ca ſel celo pieno ſe nona uedere  
de tante clarte creatur beate  
maior latq uſtra inferno auere

Però ch'èra molto più le dāpnare  
multo più gran l'orgo auer li bisogna  
ch'ind'è il celo oue sōno le saluate

Impossibile per me non essere laggiù  
 In tal luogo sub terra sia trovato  
 Intendi non come quilluy di sopra

Del celo sia pieno di eletti dato  
no senade de angusta plenitudine  
ma di corno sepre esser abitato

Ue gran dolce pienezza pulcritudine  
come de stelle a tra de pesci mare  
d' multo domini gran multitudi

De rezdy como tantomini deus ante  
sub terra dy e pcha al suo paze  
iquesto diui to uszi pnter late

Del puzzone nel presente se sol uedere  
esseno i femi: l'ammellefima parte:  
aurena de terra miche puzze

Al operation penso pero forte  
che se tutti i nomi si trouano

Two of the manuscript of El Giar

[illegible]

declarat.

Si quid ymaginatur quatuor caput illud, & tota interiore huius  
est sub terra. Dicitur per quod huiusmodi sunt iuxta caput unum.  
Istam per oculos si sunt cent.

Si uel hōies q' forte ab initio: 2 uel uel ipse uix exadur  
hōies q' nūc sūt: i millecapla pñoe: 2 uel uix capte hūi  
ag tre. Et gñuētū mōuēt hie capuētū q' hie hūi hūi  
nūc mō pōtē capē i gñuētū hūi. Et q' uel nū nobis  
appet: mō nū sūt. hie nū uel uel i mōuēt nūp it mōuēt  
i gñuētū hūi mōuēt. Et i hūi hūi ē mō gñuētū: ar  
p' hie mōuēt hūi mōuēt



margin (in Canto II, Part Two, two *terzinas*; in a canto disavowed by the author, after Canto XXV, Part Two, one *terzina*.)

One might be tempted to say that these erasures and the added *terzinas* are the work of a copyist who, on being apprised of having committed an error or an omission, made erasures or additions, but the following case is in clear contradiction to such a hypothesis.

At Canto XIII, Part One, the poet says:

- 94 Non sia fidili ad infidil molesto  
tucte comun cose se zo non fosse  
dal contrari se farrebbe un pesto  
103 In recrear famelici fa lor mosse  
cal factor del tucto mica abbandona  
soi servi chel nutrica incarne et osse.

Here the *terza rima* proceeds regularly *fosse, mosse, osse*, a sign that there is no discontinuity between the two *terzinas*; yet, between them there is an asterisk, and in the margin we find written with the same ink two more *terzinas*:

- 97 Da carcer liberare sonno lor posse  
ali bon servi bon aiuto presta  
Sanzaltra aiuto li leva da fosse  
Cavali da quella cruda lor molesta  
tucte vincule li fa de membri scosse  
102 chel tornal tucto in corporal festa.

That these last two *terzinas* were added later can be seen from the fact that the author, desiring to insert two *terzinas* between the two mentioned, was compelled to use the same rime (in *-osse*) as occurs in the second line of the first *terzina*, causing thus an abnormal sequence, in respect to the *terza rima*, of six alternate verses; a poor expedient, to which no one but the author would have had recourse.

Something similar occurs in Canto II, Part Three, where between two duly rimed *terzinas* three are added, causing the repetition of the same rime at a brief interval, but not resulting in the faulty sequence of the previous example.

Canto XV, Part One, ends, according to the rules of the *terza rima*, in *y-s-y/s*: yet we find, in the margin between this ending and

the title of the following canto, three more verses, two to complete a *terzina*, using the last verse of the canto as the first line of the *terzina*: the third to close the *terza rima*:  $y-z-y/z-w-z/w$ . These last two cases plainly show that the additions were made by the author himself.

We come now to the small extra leaf, spoken of above.

Canto XXV, Part Two, ends with the verse:

La serran cechi dove veder non vale

after which we find written:

Canto XXVI ove loda la cita de Aquila.

But the number *XXVI* has been erased, and between leaves 86 and 87 we find a small leaf bound in with the manuscript on which we see a mark + referring to a similar mark at the end of Canto XXV. Under this mark on the small inserted page we find introduced, in the same handwriting as that of the manuscript:

+ *Lassando questi duy canti dirrai qui ala fine.*

La seran cechi dove veder non vale  
 pianto non giova de quel cocente stille.  
 pero che se gastiga de colpa mortale  
 Doli ad me tornar fa piu de mille  
 che doler me non posso: et pure me dolgio  
 vedendo tante accese crudel faville  
 De cotal bructi che pur del mundo tolgio.

*poi seguita el canto XXVI*

O Maledecta prosapia diabolicha  
 gente crodele de dio facta nimicha

*et cetera come seguita de socto*

Who other than the author would have been inclined to take such a liberty as to write "Suppress these two cantos and begin again at such and such a point"? What copyist would have first copied two cantos, and then said: "Never mind these two cantos"? Even if he had done so, it would have been while writing con-

secutively, without making use of a leaf apart; a consideration which reveals an afterthought in the mind of the author.

It will be noted, on comparing the manuscript with the incunabulum (of which later), that this indication was faithfully followed by the author's son in printing the book. In the original make-up of the manuscript there must have been two leaves in the place of this small leaf, for two mutilated fragments are left in the manuscript, the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Canto and the end of the Twenty-seventh Canto, which two fragments, together with what was

+ I offendo qm douz cantos : dirrey que ala fine

La seran cedi douz ueder no uale  
 panto no gona d' quel cote sille  
 go t' se gasta d' colpa mortale  
 dol ad me tinnat fa piu de mille  
 t' doler me no posso: e pur me dolgo  
 uado t'ne acofe crudel fantele  
 de coral bruci t' pur del mudo calgoi

f per sequita el canto xxi:  
 Maldetta profupia diabolicha  
 gente creola d' uno fura n' m' m' m' m'  
 / r' como segun d' feto.

Facsimile of the small page interpolated between leaves 86 and 87 of the manuscript of *El Giardeno*, Codex XIII. C. 13.

written on the two missing leaves, formed two full cantos. It must be believed that these two leaves were torn away by the author himself and that in their place he inserted the small leaf.

And this emendation he made perhaps on rereading his work when it was complete, inasmuch as the numbers of all the following cantos show an erasure, a corrected canto-number being in each case substituted for the old one.

In writing Canto XVI, Part Three, the author becomes aware that he is making it too long, and he finds a remedy: between the two *terzinas*:

Multi son quilli che de tanto ben sarrena  
limosina fanno di for che son veduti  
la volunta dentro de cio prende pena  
L'altri son quilli dentellecti acuti  
che con largita con tal virtu sollacza  
et con beati seran poi trasuti

which are perfect as to their rime and their thought, he makes a reference sign and writes on the margin the verse

Che se trovan poy di quella perduti

which coming after

la volunta dentro de cio prende pena

puts an end to the canto according to the rules of the terza rima. Then he writes the title of the Seventeenth Canto after which he introduces two more terzinas which he adapts, as to their rimes, to the terzina which he was composing, beginning:

L'altri son quilli dentellecti acuti

A similar case is found in Canto LXIV, after which the Sixty-fifth is inserted between it and the Sixty-sixth, with the use of the same expedient.

The above considerations seem to leave no doubt as to the manuscript being an autograph. If so, it will not be denied that the marginal notes of which the manuscript is full, are not only autograph but written at the same time as the text, since not only is the identity of the handwriting evident, but also in several instances where the shade of the ink employed in the text varies, the ink used in the notes corresponds.

## CHAPTER II

### THE INCUNABULUM

In the numerous works which treat of the early stages of the art of printing in Italy are found many references to *El Giardino*; but these mentions unfortunately are often very defective, involving the repetition, by one author after another, of various mistakes and omissions.

Within our present knowledge, only five copies of this incunabulum are preserved in the public libraries of the world, and none, so far as is known, in the private collections. The five copies in existence in the public libraries are: (1) One in the Biblioteca Nazionale (formerly *Corsiniana*) of Rome; (2) one in the Biblioteca Nazionale (formerly *Palatina*) of Florence; (3) one in the Biblioteca Nazionale (formerly *Borbonica*) of Naples, marked XI C. 22; (4) one in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, in Paris; (5) one in the Library of the British Museum.

The printed book measures 278 × 202 millimeters; the paper is heavy, white (rather darkened by age) and bears as a watermark a hunting horn. The pages have neither numbers nor catch-word; they are printed in two columns of forty-eight lines each. The type, Roman Gothic, is clear and neat. The book has ninety-eight leaves with the signatures running from *a* to *n*. All the quires are quaternions except *c*, *c*, *h*, *k*, which are ternions, and *n* which is quinternion. Only the first line of each *terzina* begins with a capital letter.

The recto of the first leaf shows a wood-engraving of 155 × 125 millimeters, representing an archway in the form of an entrance to an enclosed garden. In the garden are plants with flowers and fruits. In the foreground of the picture and in a higher position is the figure of a man wearing long curled hair; he is dressed in a cloak with a big jewel on his breast, and holds in his right hand a bunch of lilies. On each side of him stand two figures of men: the one on the dexter side of the central figure also wears long curled hair, and wears a cap and a doublet. He has a bunch of lilies in his belt, and he holds in his left hand a bunch of stems with fruits. The man on the sinister side of the central figure has very short hair, and wears a cap and a doublet. He has a bunch of lilies in his left hand, while his right hand rests on the hilt of a short sword pendent from a girdle. Curiously enough the three men are differently shod. The central figure has soft-skin boots reaching to the knee, the man with the purse wears long pointed shoes, and the man with the sword wears sandals.

Presumably the central figure is that of Marino Jonata, and the other two are two sons of his, of whom an account will be given in the chapter on the biography of the author.



**Hortulus iste tibi iā circū flōida septus**  
**Poma feret fausti frondosus ⁊ ordine campī**  
**Puniceis inserta comis: fert munera multa.**  
**felices nardos felicia cinnama fructu.**  
**En dignas animosa rosas en pabula mentis**  
**Limpidioris habesq; rīmi fragrantia odore:**  
**Lomaq; que piscis alimenta dedere beatis**  
**Landida: mortali que sunt obnoxia faro.**  
**adente pubescentem titillet inclita virtus.**  
**Nec lege quisquis ades hilaris meritisq; decore**  
**Quem noua quem diui delectant federa xpi.**

*Castellani.*

Under the woodcut are printed the following verses :

Hortulus iste tibi iam circum florida septus  
 Poma feret fausti frondosus et ordine campi  
 Puniceis inserta comis: fert munera multa  
 Felices nardos felicia cynamma fructu.  
 En dignas animosas rosas en pabula mentis  
 Limpidioris, habesque timi fragrantia odore  
 Cornaque que priscis alimenta dedere beatis  
 Candida: mortali que sunt obnoxia fato  
 Mentem pubescentem titillet inclita virtus.  
 Hec lege quisquis ades hilaris meritisque decore  
 Quem nova quem vivi delectant federa Christi.

The first leaf after the woodcut contains a letter which begins :

Sir Francisci Jonathe autoris geniti in opere pomarij figurative nuncupanti per nobilem et egregium<sup>1</sup> virum Marinum Jonatham Anglonensem edito a seque castigato epistola ad lectorem.

Cogitanti sepe mihi nobilem et egregium Marinum Jonatham Anglonensem genitorem nostrum *colendissimum*. Opus quidem laude dignum Cesarea non modo verumtamen pontificia pertractans summo *ingenio* ac studio edidisse: et fati munus priusquam id impressioni eiusque castigationi daretur sentienti *explevisse*. Ne vigilie laboresque tanti studiosi et ingeniosi viri silentio preterirent ac immortale eius inter *poetas quod* perfecto ingenio non exiguo excubijs summis sibi perpetuum vendicavit per omnes mundi *partes* valeat illustrari. atque ad instruendam vitamque optime ducendam nobis et posteris divina forte *inspiraratione* impartiri dignatus est. gaudere fruique possimus. Id habere consonum omni conatu *visum* est per omnium anime et corporis voluptate utilitateque. Cum in eo vitanda amplexandaque nos *doceat* et huic impressioni summa a me diligentia castigatum tradere non sum veritus. Accipite igitur *iocunde* hoc opus hac tempestate cetera recentoria auctoritate et dignitate moribus atque exemplis *antecellens*. Quibus autor patriam illustravit. totumque orbem replevit. Etenim non parum anime fructus *et corporis* voluptatis iocunditatisque capietis. habeatis hortor et rogo legatis eique die noctuque *studeatis*. Autori viro religiosissimo ingentes gratias merito obnoxij referentes.

<sup>1</sup> The words or parts of words printed in italic type are missing in the copy of the *Nazionale* of Naples. They were at the end of lines, and have been worn away by time or use. The substitutions have been obtained from the *Nazionale* of Florence.

Proderet in lucem tam dignum tamque canorum  
Hoc Bernardinus ionata fecit opus  
Non prius ad lucem potuit producier istuc  
Auctoris quoniam mors inopina fuit  
In quo consulitur quantum natura peregit  
Et quo sit cunctis vita trahenda modo  
Hoc eme qui vitam contemnis ducere inertein  
Hoc eme qui vivens vir bonus esse cupis.

At the head of the first page, recto, first column, we read:

Comensa la prima parte del Giardino compilato et composto dal Angionese Marino Jonatha al divoti et fideli Christiani de fugire l'eterna morte. Canto primo dove induce el Gipzo per sua guida.

The poem ends with the seventh line of the first column of leaf ninety-five, recto, with the declaration:

Finisce la tersa parte del Giardino del Angionese dove e dicto de li gaudii di beati. A dio gratia et a la soa dolce matre Amen. Et fo complita de compilare a lanno del signore MCCCCLXV. al di xvii de iulio xiii indictione. Et fo scripta nel dicto anno et complita nel mese de Novembro. Jhesus Maria Amen.

A table of contents follows, at the end of which we read:

Finisce lo libro del Giardino del Angionese stampato in Napoli Anno domini M.CCCC.lxxxx. al xxviiij de Junio.

A woodcut follows which shows the distinctive mark—*impresa*—of the printer, a vertical rectangle bearing a shield with the device of a knotty tree-trunk. In the upper part of the rectangle appears the name Cristianus Preller, who was the printer of the book.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> There are also some other rare monuments of the works of this printer, namely:

*Officium beate mariae virginis*, Naples, 1487, 1490, 1498.

*Breviarium capuanum*, Capua (but Naples), 1489.

Johannes Naso, *Consuetudines Felicis Urbis Panhormi*, Naples, 1496.

*Miracoli della gloriosa Vergine Maria*, Naples, 1497.



Comensa la prima parte del Biar  
deno cōpilato ⁊ cōposto dal Angio  
nese. Darino ponatha al diuoti ⁊ fi  
deli Christiani de fugire leterna mor  
te.

Canto primo doue induce el Sip  
zo per sua guida.



Ducto al stremo del  
passar de vn mōte  
El sol uelato ⁊ la  
luce ascosa  
Hauēdo ogniuno  
trascoiso oltral pō

Nocte era obscura ⁊ tenebrosa te  
icijolecto montato in timore  
dubitali al tucto douer qui far posa  
Leuato dunchè da me ogne furore  
in aëro locchi deuotamente fissi  
dondo la mente al summo redētoie  
O dio eterno diuotamente diffi  
stendi la tua mano ad me che pgo  
dal fango leuarme siano tuoi missi  
In darne tua luce nō mi far nego  
⁊ chio nō pera in tal duro calle  
qual tu uidi oue amaro so ⁊ sego  
Di po ala terra dedi el mie spalle  
chel sol tornasse dubituso staue  
che illustrasse tucti monti ⁊ ualli  
Laffandati ponseri poi qui esaua  
la nocte trascorendo fe suo cōiso  
apiesso di lei el di se dimostraua  
Como quilui che da tauan e moriso  
da uespe da moschoni ⁊ serpentelli  
tal stimolato sostineua al mio dorso  
Nō alkrimenti si torchon il zitel  
mirando lor magistro lor saguacta  
cō grā timore uando dauanto elli  
Tal mia mente al tucto era macta  
mirando diana subito confortai  
como da matre chel figliol ellacta  
El me bri da terra presto su leuai  
nō sena dubio presi vn camino  
oue senterì ne luce io trouai  
Nō credo che fortuna ne destino  
ma solo al saluatore che nō uolse  
so tornasse al tucto qui tapino

La scurita datanti messeto  
locchi uoluēdo uidi vn gran piano  
tornai giocūdo oue puma me dolce  
Et quantūche fosse dami arco lōtāo  
el camin trascoisi al piu q̄to posetti  
ad uoler del ructi sensi farne sano  
Quādo giunto fui vn poco ristetti  
a mirar me possi tra quela uerdura  
che tucto cō gioia al cor mesi metti  
piu de mille in mezo tal pianura  
odori fer arboiscelli se miraua  
uera mostraua de giocūdita figura  
El mie ochi tra larbori uoltaua  
gente felice cō belli adornamenti  
cō grā feste a tal ombie dimoraua  
Dubituso restai tra quel tante genti  
⁊ per saper alcun di quei chi posse  
in uer di loro fui col passi spenti  
parol qui si faceua alte ⁊ grosse  
di cose mūdane el piu di fortuna  
subito il penso al cor mi percosse  
In uer quilui che mecho semp bruna  
auerla secho infelice ⁊ toita  
diceua che mai nel mundo vna  
felicità nō auena ancho mouta  
al tucto opposita era uerso lui  
sequir pero uoleua la sua sortā  
Locchi uoluēua se qui era quistuy  
pero che cognito mecho era mulco  
q̄to altri sia cō qualūcha altrui  
Et quādo ad vno arbor dedi el volto  
io el uidi giocundo ⁊ festizare  
fui aloia del primo timor tolto  
Non dubitali alloio ma propinquare  
dauanto me fi alui me mostrai  
dedi sosta al mio duro andare  
Lui in me ⁊ io lui mirai  
sicut infantez cernit eius mater  
senza restare alui cussi parlat  
Conqueroi tecū Nicolae dulcis frat  
ut bene nosti obseruare iā denegas  
res que fuere promisse ter ⁊ quater  
Admīni me ergo cū tua mēte pergas  
pluries dixisse amica mea fortuna  
mōdo sub umbra ipius fata pagas  
Qual signo di stelle o uer di luna  
q̄ ducto te aue ti prego mi chiara  
che semp expulisti sua ueste bruna

**¶** finisce la prima parte del  
Giardeno del Angioneſe  
a dio gratia ⁊ ala ſua dol-  
ce matre Amen.

**¶** Sequita la ſecunda parte  
del dicto Giardeno ordinato  
dal Angione done tracta ô ſu  
plicij ⁊ pene intrinſeche ⁊ ex-  
triſeche de dāpnati. Et primo  
de la largeza del inferno. Can-  
to primo.

P

Enſa vidi ⁊ ruma  
tra toi denti  
ch nel mūdan pela  
go la naue e rocta  
el vele laſſate ⁊ gli  
farti ſon lenti

El timon dorme el vèto pur abocta  
queluy che poia actēda p ſaluareſe  
anſi che regna la deſuiata bocta  
Quiluy che nō voia di cio curarſe  
affocbato roina da cotal vento  
paſto di focbo trouara pop farſe  
E io oia eri era di ſenſi lento  
de tante coſe ſtupita piendendo  
⁊ pur de piu ſapere ſtana attento  
Ala dōna me volci col vulto piāgēdo  
facēdoli ſigno di voler parlare  
ley me dice taci ca tintendo  
Pare ch oia ti piādi marauagliare  
che linferno ſia pocho poter tenere  
tucti pechaturi che li voia andare  
Lha ſel celo pleno ſi voia vedere  
di tante electe creatur beate  
magior locho voia linfero auere  
Pero che ſera multo piu el dānate  
multo piu grā loco auer li biſogna  
che nō e il celo oue ſono le ſaluare  
Impoſſibil po nel tuo coi ſagogna  
che tal loco ſub terra ſia tronato  
intendi nō como quilui che fogna  
Sel celo ſua pleno di electi dato  
nō ſentende de anguita plenitudie

ma dicemo ſem̃p eſſer abitato  
Di grā dolce pleneza pulcritudine  
chomo di ſtelle o ſia di peſcel mare  
el mūdo domini gran multitudine  
Se cerchi como tantomini deue ſtare  
ſub terra che e pocha al tuo parere  
in cio diui toi veri penſier dare  
Sel pſone chal pſente ſi ſol vedere  
eſſendo inſemi la milleſima parte  
appena di tera poiebe tenere  
Tal cōperation penſa po farſe  
cha ſe tuctomini iſemi ſi trouerāno  
quāti ſon ſtati ⁊ ſera in tal arte  
foiſe che tal numero nō paſſerāno  
a poter remplir la tera che e vota  
cō tucti loi corpi che laſſati āno  
La cōcauita eſſer magior ſi nota  
che nō e la ſupficie dela terra  
caperando dūnche in ſi facta rota  
Lucti dānati cō ogne loi guerra  
che quātūche nō ſia i voſtra viſta  
ſono aſſay che in cio nō ſi erra  
Vedete che di munti fa gran liſta  
le multe aque che la terra coppe  
el momēti di terremoti far plīta  
Brā pfundo linferno auer ſi opie  
eſſer po deue di gran capacitate  
ſecundo Bonauentura che cio ſcōp  
Richardo che ti vol far ācho derate  
el dānati dice ſerano cōpſi  
che ſtar poiāno in tal cōcauitat e  
Lō tucti loi difecti ⁊ tucti loi peſi  
como ſormati fuſſero in vna rota  
⁊ che al tucto deue eſſer offeſi  
Queſtaltra raſone al pſente nota  
chelgi e vera ⁊ nō poia fallire  
nō ſia po nel tuo penſer vota  
Lhe ſa tal piofundita voia parire  
nō eſſer capace di tante creature  
el vero dio la voia piu amplire  
Ouer ſe biſognara piu altre cure  
crearla dinouo como primamēte  
la creò ⁊ ſela ſenſaltre facture  
Ancho parte del agero ſimilmente  
che dal gran diluuio fo occupata  
in terra cōuertira ſubitamente

Facsimile of the beginning of the second part of the incunabulum of El Giardeno.

## CHAPTER III

## BIOGRAPHY OF MARINO JONATA

As may be seen from the titles and the endings of each part of his poem, where the name Marino Ionata is always followed by the adjective Angionese (that is to say Agnonese, 'a native of Agnone'), and also from the letter with which the author's son accompanies the publication of the poem, MARINO IONATA was born in Agnone, a city in the Contado di Molise, Abbruzzi. We do not know the exact date of his birth, but it seems almost certain that he cannot have been born later than the year 1408, nor before the year 1400.

On the eighth of November 1455 Ionata lost, as we shall see later, a three-year-old grand-daughter, the daughter of one of his sons. Let us suppose that this girl was the first child of the first son of the author. Assuming that the author and his son followed the accepted custom and did not marry before the canonical age of twenty-one; and that one year intervened between the marriage of the author and the birth of his first son and between the marriage of this son and the birth of the girl who died at the age of three years, we have twice twenty-one, twice one, and three, which makes forty-seven years. Subtracting forty-seven years from 1455, the date of the child's death, we shall see that the author cannot have been born later than the year 1408.

Nor can he have been born before the year 1400. In his poem. Canto XX, Part Two, verses 76-82, the author says that in the year 1463 his father died of a plague in Agnone. If we assume that his father also married at the age of twenty-one, that Marino was the first-born, that one year intervened from the father's marriage to Marino's birth, this would amount to twenty-two years. Should Marino have been born in 1400, his father's age when he died in 1463 would have been eighty-five—a reasonable estimate of longevity. The positing of Marino's birth in any year before 1400 would increase the age of Marino's father above eighty-five at the time of his death, a supposition not very probable.

No data concerning Ionata's life are available from any source; the only information is that contained in his poem, in the marginal notes, and in another work of Marino's to be spoken of later.

He had as his first teacher a learned man who in spite of being a priest did not lead a saintly life. Cf. Canto V, Part Two, verses 52-57:

Del to magistro primo non aver odito  
dalciaso dico che fo tucto mundano, etc.

and in a note:

Dicit de Alciaso Anglonense qui fuit presbiter et doctus scientiarius et primus magister actoris. Erat autem dives rebus mundanis quibus totus deditus erat, predicabat populo aliquid sed opere operabat oppositum. Itaque pompis et divitiis cum femina et filiis mundanus erat et non religiosus. In quibus permanens finem complevit.

Parenthetically it may be pointed out that the discipline in the schools must have been at that time much more severe than at present, and pupils much more afraid of their teachers than they are now, if we are to believe what our author says in Canto I, Part One, verses 25-27:

Non altrimenti se torcon li zitelli  
mirando lo magistro lor saguacta  
con gran timore vando davanto elli.

In 1434, when already married, he became a professed tertiary of the Order of Saint Francis. These tertiaries might marry and live as laymen, being only subject to certain rules of the order. Both men and women were admitted to membership.

In Canto IX, Part One, verses 34-38, Death, admonishing the author, says:

Volgi nel ordine li toi di fenire  
nel qual ti trovi ad priffission legato  
dico del terzo del qual non te pentire  
Pero che e dala chiesa approvato  
ove sonno donne e homin assay.

It was a great man, one of the best known saints of the Catholic Church, Saint John of Capestran, who conferred on him the scapular.

In Canto XI. Part One, verses 136-138, Death says:

Lonanti vedere del bon capestrano  
 Johanni che te fe de pompa spoliare  
 vede el bon sole dimorar soprano.

And in a note:

Quia ab eo indutus fuit ad tertium ordinem sancti Francisci in anno domini MCCCCXXXIII.

On the twenty-sixth of February 1443 Ionata was in Naples, where he was present at the triumphal entrance of King Alfonso of Aragon.

In Canto VII, Part One, verses 70-84, Death declares:

Non chomo Alfonso re che tu say  
 in Napoli riceppe il triunfale  
 del qual maggiore tu mirasti may.

Here there is a lengthy note describing with the utmost minuteness Alfonso's triumph, and ending:

"Et hoc in anno domini MCCCCXXXIII die martis xxvi mensis februarij: VI indictione. Ego autem qui librum compilavi et composui in dicta Civitate tunc presens fui et predicta propriis oculis vidi. (Cf. note *in loc. cit.*)

In the month of December 1450 Ionata was in Rome, perhaps to attend the Jubilee proclaimed by Pope Nicholas V; and on the nineteenth of said month he was himself a witness of the unfortunate event by which so many people met an untimely death on the Bridge of Castel Sant'Angelo through the rash fury of an unruly mule.

In Canto VIII, Part One, verses 140-145, the author says:

vedo li morti sopra del gran ponte  
 de animali et de vire et de spouse  
 Ad uno ne a duy se guasto la fronte  
 assay s'affocao giovane et vecchio  
 nel jubileo a roma senza conte  
 Gran parte ne vidi, etc. . . .

And in a note:

Hic dicit de mortuis qui suffocati fuerunt: Rome: in ponte Sancti Angeli: in anno jubiley MCCCCL. die xviii decembris . . etc. . . Me tunc in romana urbe existente, et maximam partem ipsorum occisorum vidente. (Cf. note *in loc. cit.*)

Jonata was twice married. The exact date of his first marriage is unknown, but it must have been about the year 1429 from what has been shown in discussing his birth, and from the fact that when he became a tertiary in 1434 he was already married. What is certain is that on the twenty-fourth of March 1455 he lost his first wife, whose name was Litia.

In Canto VIII, Part One, verses 124-127, the author, speaking to Death, says:

Or da un canto gia me ay percosso  
che la mia sposa e da te portata  
et dolendome doler non me posso.

And in a note:

Dicit de Litia eius legitima uxore que obiit anno domini MCCCCLV die XXIII martij.

He did not, however, long remain a widower. In Canto IX, Part One, verses 39-41, Death, speaking to him, had said:

el matrimonio te e confirmado  
Nel qual tu novamente restarray.  
firmamente in luy con vero amore.

And in a note:

Dicit de secundo matrimonio quod primodum contraxit.

Again in Canto X, Part One, verses 8-9, Death, speaking to him, says:

te dico tornaray senza molgere,  
che qui la portaro tra tante mole.

And in the note:

Hic predicit mortem sue secunde uxoris supra nominate.

His second marriage must have taken place not long after the death of his first wife, for while Litia died on the seventh of March 1455, his second wife died on September seventh 1456.

In Canto XVI, Part One, verses 61-63, Death says:

Ma non volere pero maravelgiarte  
se senza sposa sei ora rimasto  
como promisi farocte senza starte

and in a note:

Hic dicit de morte sue secunde uxoris quam super predixit que obiit die septima mensis septembris MCCCCLVI.

On the twenty-third of July 1463 he was in his native town when Alessandro Sforza, in the name of King Ferdinando, went to besiege Agnone, which had rebelled. Alessandro having taken Agnone, invited Marino to go to see him, but Marino out of pride would not go, altho he would have been advantaged by going. In the Sixth Canto, Part Two, verses 91-99, Death tells him :

Alexandro con piacere et vulto sano  
vederte volse et non per dampnificarte  
quantuncha un poco te levo del grano  
Ma volse nel tuo riposo lassarte  
et tu superbo provedere non sapisti  
potendo allora piu giocundo farte  
Da luy chiamato responder non volisti  
col tosto capo volisti remanere  
con recchia surdo et con occhio mal vedisti.

And the note :

Iste fuit Alexander Sforza de comitibus de Cotengioliis Magnus princeps, et strenuus armorum capitaneus. Satis dilectus a suis. Venerat enim in adiutorium dicti Regis Ferdinandi. Fuit in obsidione contra Anglonum diebus tribus. Et cum in multo dampnificare potuisset Anglonum nichil sibi mali fecit. Solum a suis armigeris parum de frumento in campis inventum asportatum est. Qui ibidem existens bene operaturum se obtulit pro statu et pace dicte terre. Ad quem ire et mictere Anglonenses renuerunt et hoc die 23 julii 1463. Ad quem si Anglonenses misissent bonum eis evenisset.

In the year 1463 there was an epidemic in Agnone, which played havoc with Marino's family, for he lost his father, a son, a daughter-in-law, a brother-in-law, and nephews or grandchildren. (We cannot say whether they were nephews or grandchildren, since in Italian the word *nepoti*, which the author uses, means either nephews or grandchildren.)

In Canto XX, Part Two, verses 76-80, Death says :

Volci ad te cio fare ancho sentire  
chel patre te tolci nepoti et filioli  
ad nora et cognate feci cio patire  
Ad alcun de toi altri dedi dolo  
facendol privo de la lor cara famelgia, etc.

And in a note :

Quia in dicto pestifero anno obierunt pater filius nepotes nurus  
et cognatus istius auctoris morbo epydimie.

Marino had a brother by name Mariano, who was a priest.

In Canto XXVI, Part One, verses 82-83, Death says :

Vogli a me dice de zo confortare  
ne la sua volunta lo tuo mariano, etc.

And in a note :

Iste Marianus erat presbiter et germanus auctoris huius operis,  
etc.

Marino had no less than three children; one of them, whose  
name we do not know, died in the epidemic of 1463; the names of  
the other two were Francesco and Geronimo.

Of the existence of Francesco we are informed by the father  
himself, in two passages of the poem.

In Canto XII, Part Three, Death says :

Quil e chiamato bono et car figliolo  
che honor debito al suo padre porta  
como e lo tuo Francescho in te solo.

And in a note :

Iste Franciscus est filius actoris hujus operis satis in omnibus  
obediens patri, habens eum in summa reverentia et honore.

This Francesco had a daughter who on the eighth of November  
1455 died, after falling from a high window. By this death  
Marino was greatly affected.

In Canto VIII, Part One, verses 154-165, the author, speaking  
to Death, says :

Oyme che de gran doli son coperto  
mirando il iudicio mecho inchiuso  
tucto per mio peccato vero e certo  
Chel nostro aversaro arrivo suso  
de mia casa levo una fantinella  
da un alto balcone la bucto giuso  
Innocente era quella figliolella  
chel secundo jorno techo la portasti  
avendo del capo tracte soe cervella  
Oyme morte como cio tu pensasti  
a tal figliola esser sci crudele  
che nisun peccato con ley trovasti



And in a note:

Ista fuit filia Francisci, filii istius actoris qui loquitur, erat anorum trium spetiosa nimis, cecidit in platea per quamdam fenestram sue alte domus et mortua fuit infra horas XXIII. In anno MCCCCLV. die VIII novembris.

Of the existence of the other son Geronimo we have the following evidence. In the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples we find another manuscript by the same author, the title of which is *lo Breve dell'Anima*.<sup>1</sup> In it Marino in an introductory address says:

<sup>1</sup> The following is a transcript of the facsimile of the first page of the manuscript of *Lo Breve dell'Anima*, Codex XIII. F. 11. Leaf 80 verso.

1. piu liberamente possa peccare e peccato mortale S. 4 Contrahere
2. matrimonio in casi vetati senza dispensatione e peccato mortale S. 2 C° 19°
3. Contrahere lo matrimonio in peccato mortale peccato mortale c. c. Con
4. trahere el matrimonio nascostamente e peccato mortale c. c. Tanto C° 16
5. quanto el matrimonio sta occulto sempre stanno in peccato mortale c. c.
6. Consumare el matrimonio nello tempo interdicto e peccato mortale c. III: C.

17

7. Rompere el matrimonio de futuro Del matrimonio de futuro c. 3. S. 1.
8. in caso non concesso e peccato mortale c. c. Usare el debito del
9. matrimonio fora del debito loco luna e laltro peccato mortale S. 1:
10. Come la donna non deve consentire allacti disonesti bestiali
11. fore de justa accasone S. 2 Rompere o non rendere el debito
12. etiamdio per zelo de castitate po essere peccato mortale S. 3 Rendere
13. el debito alo adultero publico po essere peccato mortale c. c. S. 2
14. Domandare el debito alo adultero publico po essere mortale
15. peccato. Chi non rende el debito requisito debitamente da
16. accasone al compangio de peccare mortalmente e peccato mortale
17. eodem capitulo S. 5. Deo gratias Amen
18. Qua comenza lo breve de llanima editum per Fratrem Ludo
19. vicum de Jonatha de Anglono ad utilitatem suorum filiorum
20. Cescuno christiano che se vole salvare et andare ad possedire
21. lafelicità de vita eterna e di bisogno fare lavolunta
22. de dio et ad im plire soa sacra lege, et osservare quelle
23. cose che so necessarie ad salute, le quali deve omne uno sapere
24. Altramenti la ignorantia non excusa. Impero o cari et di
25. lecti mei figlioli Francisco et Jeronimo. Io vostro padre chia
26. mato da vuj Marino, pensanno ala salute de vostre anime
27. et in quello che sete tenuti como bonj et verj christianj. Avendove
28. legitimamente nela mia juventute generati, ora in vecchiezza
29. desideranno siate dal dolce dio nela soa volunta regene
30. rati. Aczo che como in carne ce semo nel presente mundo ve
31. duti ce vedamo in semj in vita eterna, et possedamo quella
32. dolce et beata requie et felicità de sempre vedere et laudare lalto
33. et glorioso creatore, me so studiato retrare le infrascripte cose
34. molto necessarie ad salute et con quanta brevita posso farvene
35. notizia. Aczo che sapendole le possate osservare, et guardarve



Impero, o, cari et dilecti mei filgioli Francisco et Jeronimo. Io vostro patre chiamato da vuj Marino; pensanno ala salute de vostre anime et in quello che sete tenuti como bonj et verj christiani. Avendove legitimamente nela mia juventute generati, ora in vecchiezza desideranno siate dal dolce dio ne la soa volunta regenerati, etc.

From this address we learn that in his old age two sons were living when he wrote *lo Breve dell'Anima*; but there is in the address a phrase which at first sight strikes the reader. The phrase is: "Io vostro padre chiamato da vuj Marino." Was he called otherwise by other people who were not his sons?—He was. At the time when Marino wrote *lo Breve dell'Anima* he was a Franciscan friar.

It is known that when a layman becomes a friar he changes his name, and we have in this fact a direct proof of the change of state of the writer of *El Giardino*. In fact the new work begins in this way:

Qua comenza, lo breve de llanima editum per fratrem ludovicum de Jonatha de Anglono, ad utilitatem suorum filiorum.

When accordingly, after some explanations, the author, as we have seen, says:

Impero, o, cari et dilecti mei filgioli Francisco et Jeronimo. Io vostro patre chiamato da vuj Marino etc.

we have in these words the most direct and certain proof of his change of condition.

Perhaps, though already married, he had for a long time cherished the intention of becoming a friar, because in Canto IX, Part One, verses 34-35, 39-44, 46-49, Death, speaking to him, says:

34 Volgi nel ordine li toi di fenire  
nel qual ti trovi ad priffission legato

39 el matrimonio te. e. confirmado  
Nel quale tu novamente restarray  
firmandote in luy con vero amore  
fin che in altro modo ti trovaray  
In luy te ferma che dal cuy honore  
di tal bactalgia poray portar Marino.

46 Quantunche sci del mundo peregrino  
et con la mente un poco alienato  
farte poy allalta gratia vicino.

Perhaps the author even foresaw the gossip that his wearing the brown cloth would cause, since again in Canto IX, Part One, verses 64-68, Death tells him:

Et in tucto quel vocato si da luy  
humil resta ad ubedir le terno  
et non curar lo sparlar ne fa altruy  
Lalengua assay portane alinferno  
piu chel talgio de la volvente spada.

And in fact the author, not fearing the gossip of the people, became a friar, taking in the Franciscan order the name of Frater Ludovicus de Jonata de Anglono.

When did he become a friar?—We do not know. Certainly it was after the twenty-third of July 1463, for, if Alessandro Sforza invited him as perhaps one of the prominent barons of the place; if he stubbornly refused to present himself to the representative of the king although he might have received advantages from this visit; if a certain quantity of wheat was taken from his lands; then the conclusion would be that he had some temporal property, importance and power which he would not have had if he had been a friar, since Franciscan friars could not hold worldly possessions; and he had two living sons who would have inherited his properties when he became a friar.

And he could not have become a friar until after the seventeenth of July 1465, for he finished writing *El Giardino* precisely on that day; and while in *El Giardino* it is stated that the poem was written by Marino Jonatha Angionese, which means that he was not yet a friar, *lo Breve dell'Anima* is said to be *editum per Fratrem Ludovicum de Jonatha de Anglono*, which means that he was already a friar.

At what time he wrote the poem we do not know; the only thing we are certain of is that the poem was actually ended on the seventeenth of July 1465, for on the last page of the manuscript, leaf 174 verso, we read:

Fenisce la terza parte del Giardino del Angionese dove e dicto deli gaudiij de beati. A dio grazia et ala soa dolce matre. Amen. Et fo complita alanno del Signore MCCCCLXV. al di XVII de Julio. XIII Indictione.

ferisce la terza parte del Guardame del Anguicelo  
 scudo e dato ali giuditij di tutti. Ado gra. ala  
 san dolce matre. Am. Et se opra alano del  
 signore. M. cccc. lxx. al di xviij di luglio. xij. inda.

We know also that he was urged by Antonio Valignano, bishop of Chieti, to continue and finish his poem, as we read in Canto VIII, Part Three. Here Death says:

De Colantonio plin dogne virtute  
te ricorda episcopo theatino, etc.

And in a note:

Iste fuit Colantonius episcopus Theatinus moribus et scientia plenus qui satis confortavit auctorem ut presens opus ad finem duceret.

When did our author die? We have seen that the poem was completed on the seventeenth of July 1465, and that the printing of the incunabulum was finished on the twenty-third of June 1490.

Marino then must have died during this period. We are inclined however to believe that the death must have happened nearer to the second date than to the first, for the following reason.

At the beginning (or end) of the incunabulum we have seen there is a letter of Francesco, the son of the author, stating the reasons why he has published his father's poem; this letter ends with four distichs which read:

Proderet in lucem tam dignum tamque canorum  
Hoc Bernardinus ionata fecit opus  
Non prius ad lucem potuit producir istuc  
Auctoris quoniam mors inopina fuit, etc.

From the above lines we see that the book had not been published before, owing to the sudden death of the author. If we add to this consideration the fact that after the seventeenth of July, 1465, he had become a friar, and that he had written *lo Breve dell'Anima* and other works, among them all of Codex XIII. F. 11, about the worship of the Virgin Mary, which would have required considerable time, we shall be inclined to approach nearer to the year 1490 as the date of his death.

<sup>2</sup> The following is a transcript of the facsimile of the last leaf of the manuscript of *Lo Breve dell'Anima*, Codex XIII. F. 11. Leaf —.

1. sera fugito. E sempre ce sara iocundita senza tristitia. Unita senza
2. divisione. Sanctita senza fastidio. Perpetuita senza tedio. Ad
3. mirabile formosita et belleza. Florida iuventute. Charita incom
4. mutabile. Odore suavissimo. Summa et alta liberta. Grande et



[illegible]

Facsimile of the last leaf of the manuscript of *Lo Breve dell'Anima*, Codex XIII. F. II. Leaf —.

That before dying he wrote other works besides *El Giardino* we have strong proofs, not only in *lo Breve dell'Anima* but also in the letter mentioned above. In the body of this letter the son says:

Accipite igitur iocunde hoc opus hac tempestate cetera recentoria auctoritate et dignitate moribus atque exemplis antecellens. Quibus autor suam patriam illustravit, totumque orbem replevit. Etc.

We do not know much about Marino's family; but through diligent researches in libraries and archives we are able to give some information as to his condition and that of his family. The latter

5. excelsa dignita. Securita et riposo et tranquillita invariabile
6. Et omne bene che se dilecta pero che vederla chiaramente lo onnipotente
7. et glorioso dio eterno el benedecto suo figliolo signore nostro Yehsu Christo
8. et la soa dulcissima madre vergine gloriosa Maria et tucty
9. sancti et beati del paradiso. Et diventa et fase citadino et domestico
10. dela celestial corte. Et tale anima da gaudio et alegreza non solamente
11. ad se ma ad tucti langeli et spiriti beati. Et pero e multo da temere
12. che non se disprezze et perda tanto bene che dio sta parato dar al anima
13. da lui creata. Devese percio sempre luy pregare se degne prestarece
14. gratia osservare le cose prediecte et fare et adimplire tutta soa vo
15. lunta, perocche senza suo aiuto non se po fare cosa alcuna. loqual
16. aiuto et gratia ce presta et degna ipso glorioso et benigno dio per soa
17. infinita misericordia et pieta. Lo quale sia sempre laudato, honorato,
18. glorificato et benedicto. In secula seculorum. Amen. Qui feni-
19. sce lobreve delanima ad honorem gloriam et laudem de Yehsu Christo Amen.
20. seguita como la nostra donna Vergine maria devemo sempre
21. tenere per nostra advocata.
22. O creatura che omne tuo bene hay dal do'ce et bone dio tuo creatore, cognosci  
et prendi
23. et teni per toa advocata la benigna et gratiosa regina
24. de li celi et de laterra et de tucte cose create, che sostate, et so,
25. et seranno. Cioe quella amerosa et dolce donna Maria, sancta
26. de li sancti, et Regina de le vergini, figliola, sposa et madre de dio.
27. Questa e quella che dali sancti Angeli et spiriti beati fo honorata
28. desiderata, annunciata et laudata. Questa e quella che da
29. lanime de sancti padri che er ano nel limbo tanto fo desiderata etaspec-
30. tata. Questa e quella che fo avuta et tenuta in grande reverentia
31. et honore dali sancti apostoli, evangelisti, martiri, confexori, vergini,
32. vedove et beati. Et per lei anno receputa omne perfecta luce
33. et gratia et preservati in sanctita et gloria. Questa e quella sanctissima
34. donna che co a de tucte laltre creature, trasse et fece
35. venire ladevina potesta nel suo ventre. Questa e quello
36. illuminato vascello, templo, et sacrario del Spiritu Sancto. Questa e
37. quella donna senza laquale nisuna creatura mai se salvao, ne
38. se salvara in pero che aperse ley laporta del paradiso. Questa e
39. quella per la quale se sconfige et descaccia ledemonia, perocche nel suo

must have been noble, rich, learned. In fact, in the *Archivii di Stato per le Provincie Meridionali* in Naples, we find:

Tomus Primus Repertorii Provinciae Terrae Laboris et Comitatus Molisii de anno circiter 1420 usque ad 1603.

Fol. 339 verso. . . . In anno 1469. Re ferrante confirmo à Cola de Jonata de Isernia li Casali di Palata, Taverna, Santa Justa, e Santo Clemente siti nel Contato di Molise con integro loro stato, et un annua provisione di 11 onze sopra la Bagliva d'Isernia, Ut in Privilegiorum Squarcia folij.

Fol 299. . . . In anno 1482. . . . et etiam che habbiano da pagare à Cola da Castanea Barone di Sessano, a Francisco Tofanisco et ad Ottaviano de Jonatha di detta Isernia quelli che ad essi mancasse d'esigerne. . . .

*Cedola di Tesoreria Settembre 1506 fol. 46 verso, indice delle cedole fol. 182.*

Cola de Jonata d'Isernia per lo rilievo per morte de quondam Ott. suo padre per li feudi di Palata Taverna Santa Justa e Santo Clemente in Contado di Molise Ducati 13, 3, 10.

In a book *Delle città d'Italia e sue isole adjacenti*—compendiose notizie—sacre, profane—compiled da Cesare Orlandi—Patrizio di Fermo, di Atri, e di città della Pieve, accademico augusto. Dedicato alla santità di N.S.—Clemente XIV—Tomo Primo—In Perugia, MDCCLXX—Nella Stamperia Augusta presso Mario Riginaldi Con licenza de'superiori, we find at page 139; De Gionata de'Baroni del Royo, estinta.

The documents related above and the fact that Alessandro Sforza when besieging Agnone sent for Marino (see Canto VI, Part Two, verses 91-99, and note) show that his family was of feudal status and in high consideration.

That Jonatha's family was a rich one cannot be doubted. The lands and fees of which they were possessed (as we have seen in the previous documents); the fact that Sforza's Companies when besieging Agnone took from his fields a part of his wheat (cf. Canto VI, Part Two, verses 91-99, and note); the fact that he used to travel on great occasions and be present at important events such as the Jubilee of Pope Nicholas V in 1450 (cf. Canto VIII, Part One, verses 140-145, and note) and the triumph of King Alfonso (cf. Canto VII, Part One, verses 70-87, and note); the fact that Marino used to live in a high palace in a square of the city (cf.

**Del gaudio del anime 7 corpi nel di-**  
**cto choro. c. xxxvij. in fine.**  
**El nono coro e del Serafini doue diē**  
**De la carita 7 del amore 7 lode di ca-**  
**rita. c. xxxvij.**  
**De la virtu 7 utilita di carita. c. xxxix.**  
**Del excellentia di carite. c. xl.**  
**Del fructo di carita. c. xl. in fine 7 xli.**  
**Del gaudio del anime 7 corpi nel di-**  
**cto choro. c. xliij.**  
**Del dote del anime 7 corpi glorifi-**  
**cati declarate per tre misterij. c. xliij.**  
**xliv. 7 xlv.**  
**Del ligni ol amor diutno. c. xlv. i fine**

**Del dulcissimo nome de Jesu. Et**  
**de sua significazione 7 fructificac[i]o**  
**7 locato. c. xlv. 7 ultimo.**

**Lo Registro del libro. Sapiate ch[è]**  
**tutti son quaterni excepto che c. c. b.**  
**7 k son triterni 7 n. e quinterno.**

**Deo gratias.**

**Finisce lo libro del Giar-**  
**dano del Angionese Stam-**  
**pato in Napoli Anno dñi**  
**M. cccc. lxxx. al xxxij. de**  
**Junio.**



Facsimile of the last page of the incunabulum of *El Giardeno*.

Canto VIII, Part One, verses 157-159, and note) ; and the fact itself that his poem was printed at the expense of his family,—all shows beyond any question that his family must have been provided with ample means.

As for learning, we might almost say that it was a family endowment. Marino had, as we have seen, a brother by name Mariano. We find Mariano's name in a manuscript which is also preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples and is marked VIII D 59.\* It is a treatise on medicine, which begins:

Spiritus sanctus adsit nobis gratia  
liber dompni Marianj Jonathe de Anglono

Besides this Francesco, Marino's son, of whom we have spoken, and whom, following the chronological order, we will call Francesco the second, there was in Jonatha's family another Francesco, arch-

\* The following is a transcript of the first page of the manuscript of *Tractatus Medicinæ*, Codex VIII. D. 59. Leaf 1 recto.

1. Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia
2. Liber domini Mariani Jonathe de Anglono
3. Sahaphatin accidit pueris et forte accidit in facie
4. et capite. et generatio eius est propter multitudinem san-
5. guinis et humiditatem cutis. et signa eius sunt vulnera
6. parva ex quibus exit humor qui spargitur in facie et in ca-
7. pite et cum eis accidit pruritus. Quare puer vigilat
8. et plangit. et conqueritur. Et incipe in eorum cura cor
9. rigendo cibum nutricis. Deinde tonde caput syletro-
10. deinde suppose folia attriplicis quoniam forte curatur
11. propter hoc tantum. quia illa folia sugunt venenum. aut po-
12. ne super istud unguentum. valens ad sahaphatin que
13. accidit in capitibus puerorum. Recipe ceruse litargi
14. ri. ana. drachmae. quinque. liscivii. vinum drachma altera uncie iij. olei. ro-
- sarum
15. .i. cere. uncia. .i. liquefiat cera cum aqua. oleo. rosarum terantur
16. medicine. et conficiantur cum vitello duorum ovorum as
17. sis. deinde unge cum eo caput pueri
18. Axio que dicitur favositas in illis est species que dicitur
19. Sahaphatin. et tunc super vulnera apparent quasi
20. squame. et scalpitur cutis cum magno pruritu
21. et eliquet ex eis quasi mel. Cura eius est ut cotidie
22. radatur caput eius. et ablatur cum aqua mentastri ma
23. iorane et sairegie. Deinde ungatur cum isto un
24. guento Recipe-litargirii. ceruse. ana. aur. sulphuris
25. argenti vivi. aur .i. olei. rosarum. auri. i. acca per . . . .i.
26. conficiantur et misceantur. cum olio. rosarum. et aceto. donec

liber domini Mariary Jonathe de Anglono

Abaphann accidit pueris et forte accidit in facie  
et capite et generatio ei est per multitudinem san-  
guinis et humilitate cutis et signa ei sunt vulnere  
pua ex quo erit humor qui spargit in facie et in ca-  
pite et cum eis accidit pruritus. quod puer ungat  
et plangit et queritur. Et ita per se eorum cura cor-  
rigendo cibum nutritis. dicitur tunc caput splendo-  
re suppone folia amplexas. quoniam forte curat  
per hoc tamen. Quod illa folia sunt uenenum. aut per  
ne super istud unguentum ualens ad sabaphann que  
accidit in capitibus puerorum. Recipe ceruse. litargi-  
ri. an. 3. v. liscum. uinum. 3. al. 3. iij. oli. ro. 3.  
1. are. 3. 1. liquat cera cum aqua. olo. ro. terat  
medicane et officiantur cum intell. duorum ouorum as-  
sus. tunc unge cum eo caput pueri.

apio quod dicitur fauositas in illis est quod dicitur  
sabaphann et tunc super vulnere apparet quod  
squame et scalpuntur cutis cum magno pruritu  
et eliquet ex eis quod mel. Cura ei est ut conde-  
radatur caput ei et abluatur cum aqua in tasteri ma-  
iorane et sauregie. dicitur ungatur cum isto un-  
guento. Recipe litargiri. ceruse. an. aur. 1. sulf.  
argenti uinum. aur. 1. oli. ro. aur. 1. acca p. 1.  
officiantur et misceantur cum olo. ro. et aceto. donec.



priest of Agnone, whom we will call Francesco the first, who possessed or rather wrote a treatise on logic which he presented to Bernardino de Jonatha.

In fact, there is another manuscript, marked V H 112,<sup>4</sup> also in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples, in the first page of which we read:

Franciscus Jonatha Archipresbiter Anglonj donavit suo Bernardino de Anglono pro anima sua.

<sup>4</sup> Transcript of the first page of the manuscript of *Tractatus de Logica*, Codex V. H. 112. Leaf 1 recto.

Franciscus Jonatha Archipresbiter Angloni donavit suo Bernardino de Anglono pro anima sua.

1. Cospiciens in circuitu librorum
2. magnitudinem
3. studentium tedium constituentem in
4. animo nec non et aliorum Inimiam brevitatem
5. quibus nulla fere est annexa doctrina
6. Ideo volens medium retinere utriusque
7. Sapiens extremi compendium utile conscrip-
8. si iuvenibus pluribus divisum tractantibus. Quorum
9. Primus summularum ostendit notiam Secundus
10. suppositionum declarat materiam. Tertius consequentiarum
11. ostendit doctrinam. Quartus terminorum instruit
12. vim probativam. Quintus ligandi regulam docet obli-
13. gativam. Sextus solvendi insolubilia dat artem
14. et viam. Septimus contra primum obicit solutionem
15. addendo responsivam. Octavus vero ipsum fortificat
16. per rationem argumentorum. Quia ergo doctrina quecumque
17. a communiori sumat exordium ut ait philosophus in proemio phi-
18. sicorum. Ideo tractatus primus sit terminus diffiniens. Inci-
19. pit apriori Terminus est signum orationis constitutivum
20. Terminus est signum orationis constitutivum ut pars
21. propinqua eiusdem/ Sicut li homo/ et li animal/.
22. Et notanter dicitur pars propinqua. quia oratio habet
23. partes propinquas et remotas. Propinqua vocatur
24. dictio/ Remota vero lictera vel sillaba illius. Igitur dictio est
25. terminus et non lictera vel sillaba illius.
26. Prima divisio est ista: quod terminorum quidam est per se
27. significativus. quidam vero non. Terminus per se
28. significativus est qui per se sumptus. aliquid representat. ut
29. homo vel animal. Terminus vero non per se significativus, est
30. qui per se sumptus nichil significat. Ut omnis nullus. et similis.
31. Secunda divisio est ista. quod terminorum quidam est
32. significativus naturaliter, et quidam ad placidum. Ter-
33. minus significativus naturaliter est ille qui apud omnes eiusdem
34. nationes est significativus. sicut li homo et li animal in mente
35. Logica Francisci Jonatae Angloni

Tractatus Aristotelis de Anima dominus s. Bernardus de Anglorum philosophus



**Osipiens** In arcanis librorum  
 agnoscitur; totum magnitudinem  
 aio nec non et alios inimicus brevitate  
 quibus nulla fere est anxia doctrina  
 sedeo uolens modum retine utriusque  
 sapientie extremi compendium vtile colligere

si iuuenibus pluribus diuisum tractantibus. Quorum  
 primus summularum ostendit notam. Secundus  
 constitutionum declarat materiam. Tertius consequentiam  
 dit doctrinam. Quartus terminorum struit  
 uis. probatuum. Quintus ligandi reglem docet obli  
 uitiam. Sextus sciendi insolubilia dat aciem  
 et viam. Septimus quia primus obicit solutionem  
 addendo responsum. Octauus uero ipsum fortificat  
 per rationem argumentorum. Quia ergo doctrina quatuor  
 actionum sumat exordium. ut ait philosophus in principio phi  
 sicorum. Ideo tractatus primus sit terminus diffinitio. Inci  
 pit apud terminus est signum omnis constitutionis —

**Terminus** est signum omnis constitutionis ut patet  
 propinqua eiusdem. Sic li homo; ali uia.  
 Et notum dicitur f. 123 propinqua quia omnia sunt  
 partes propinquas et remotas. Propinqua vocat  
 dicto. Remota uero licet uel filla illi. Sicut dicto e  
 terminus et non licet uel filla illius.

Prima diuisio est ista. quod terminorum quidam qui est per  
 significatiuum; quidam uero non. Terminus per  
 significatiuum est qui per se superius aliquid d. repletur. ut  
 homo uel uia. Terminus uero non per se significatiuus; est  
 qui per se superius nihil significat. ut omnis nullus. et similia

Secunda diuisio est ista. quod terminorum quidam est  
 signum naturalis; et quidam ad placitum. Ter  
 minus signum naturalis est ille qui apud omnes eadem  
 nationes est significatiuus. sicut li homo et li uia. in omni

logica tractatus de terminis



This manuscript was inherited and continued by another Francesco whom we will call Francesco the third, who, under famous professors whom it is not important to name here, studied philosophy, law and medicine in the University of Naples.

In fact the treatise of logic ends at page 73 recto<sup>8</sup> with these words, in the handwriting of the first Francesco:

Qui scripsit, scribat, semper cum domino vivat.

And then, in the handwriting of the third Francesco continues:

Vivat in celis et in terra Franciscus de Jonatha cum pulcra doctrina et scientia. Et istum opus fuit completum scribendi in anno domini MCCCCLXXXII de mense decembris. Et tunc fuit primus annus quo ego Franciscus fui Neapoli ad studendum in logica et eam XVIII annorum natus feliciter.

These three Francescos have here been distinguished as first, second and third, because the giver of the treatise on logic, the first

<sup>8</sup> Transcript of the last page of the manuscript of *Tractatus Utilissimus*, Codex V. H. 112. Leaf 73 recto

1. ginibus configurata veritas a	Monartiam Magi	1.
2. ppareat tum deinceps offi	strum paulum per	2.
3. tium erit ut summa cum dilige	gulenzem etc.	3.
4. ntia non modo dem operam	Deo gratias Amen	4.
5. ut intelligas verum. Ut	Qui scripsit scri	1.
6. habitum faceris quod faciliter	bat. Semper cum domino	2.
7. consequi poteris Si	vivat. Vivat in ce	3.
8. sepe numero hoc scrip	lis et in terra Francis	4.
9. tum percurras ac propter ex	cus de Jonatha cum	5.
10. empla que hic scripsy	pulcra doctrina et sci	6.
11. Si plurima cyto reperies	entia. Et istud opus fuit	7.
	completum scribendi in anno domini	8.
	M <sup>o</sup> CCCC <sup>o</sup> LXXXIJ de mense de-	
	cembris. Et	9.
1. Explicit tractatus uti	tunc fuit primus annus quo ego	10.
2. lissimus de sensu composi	Franciscus fui neapli ad	11.
3. to et diviso confectus per	studendum in logica.	12.
4. artium memoriam	et eam XVIII annorum natus fe-	
	liciter Sed	13.
	in anno 1480 fui neapoly ad studium	14.

Non mai si stanca il suon de la mia voce,  
 Che questa lingua sempre avra, che dire  
 Ne corre il pianto fuor tanto veloce,  
 Che di dolcezza mi sento morire,  
 no mi



Francesco, could not be Marino's son, since he was an archpriest, while Marino's son was married. Nor could Marino's son, the second Francesco, be the one who continued the treatise on logic, for this one had been born in 1464 (he was eighteen years old in 1482), while Marino's son was already in 1452 the father of the girl who died as the result of a fall in 1455. The one who continued the treatise must therefore be a third Francesco, perhaps a son of Bernardino.

This codex contains other treatises besides the treatise on logic. The leaves from 132 to 145 are missing and at page 145, on older paper and with older script, begins a treatise on philosophy, which on the last leaf,<sup>6</sup> numbered 212, ends with the following words of the same third Francesco:

Iste liber est Francisci Jonathe de Anglono hujus libri carte sunt C.C. X. 2. Factus per annum domini MCCCLXXII Undecime Inditionis. Scriptus per notarium riccardum notarij marini socerum. Et ipse mihi dedit Et ego Franciscus de Jonata in nativitate domini MCCCCLXXXII logicam incepi post vacationes nativitatibus ejusdem anni, quo ante legibus incubui Et cum XXII annorum natus, deus ad perfectionem me venire cito faciat ut opus medicine exercere valeam.

\* Transcript of the first page of the manuscript of *Liber de Anima*, Codex V. H. 112. Leaf 212 verso.

1. In nomine domini nostri Jesus Spiritus
2. Quid est anima Anima est substantia in corporea rationis
3. capax vivificando corpore accomodata
4. Quid est natura est ars angelicata insita
5. rebus propter quam movetur inordinatum ordinamentum
6. Spiritus alme veni vite trismata spira
7. Quid est sacramentum Sacramentum est sa
8. cre rei signum
9. Qui sine sapientia dei est brutum animal est
10. Dubitat autem aliquis Hic movet dubitationem de subiectis utrum reci
11. piant magis vel minus vel nequam Hoc autem contingit Hic solvit dubitationem
12. Iste liber est Francisci Jonathe de anglono Huius libri
13. carte sunt ccxv. Factus per annum domini Mcccc
14. LXXII undecime inditionis Scriptus per notarium
15. riccardum notarii marini socerum Et ipse mihi
16. dedit Et ego Franciscus de Jonatha in nativitate
17. domini MccccLxxxij logicam incepi post vaca
18. tionis ejusdem anni. quia ante legibus incumbui
19. Et eram XVII annorum natus. Deus ad perfectionem me venire
20. cito faciat ut opus medicine exercere valeam amen.



In the above notice we find some very important information: first, a statement confirming the date of birth and the studies of the third Francesco; second, a statement that Marino's father-in-law was a notary, Riccardo by name (very probably he was Litia's father); third, that Marino Jonatha himself was a notary. And here it seems fitting to say that the office of a notary was a high office, which conferred on the bearer noteworthy distinction, like that of a judge, or even higher.

#### IV.—THE POEM

In spite of the tremendous impulse which such authors as Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio and others had given to the vernacular tongue, Latin was still the language of culture, and many Italian authors of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries preferred to write in Latin rather than in Italian, or wrote in both languages.

Many influences contributed to this renewal of the classical culture, among them Humanism, which from humble beginnings with Albertino Mussato of Padua (1261-1329) and Ferreto de' Ferreti of Vicenza (1297-1337), had gone on, through the whole fourteenth century, to the fifteenth. With this was joined the influx of the Greek culture, which through the arrival in Italy of Greek scholars, such as Georgius Gemistus Plethon (1395-1472) and Johannes Argyropulos (1416-1473), before the fall of Constantinople, and Constantine Lascaris later after it, had stirred peoples and courts to the study of the old philosophy and literatures.

This is why, along with a few writers of great renown, such as Lorenzo de' Medici, Angiolo Ambrogini (Poliziano), Luigi Pulci, Iacopo Sannazaro, and some others, who distinguished themselves in the new Italian literature, we find a great many authors who shone in the fields of Greek and Latin literature, in philosophy, in theology; and still many more who distinguished themselves for a kind of style that may be called half Latin, half Italian, characterized by a free intermixture of dialectal forms. Among these we find our Marino Jonata, who lived in one of the lands most afflicted by war, the Abbruzzi, in a time full of warlike events and of dynastic dissensions in the kingdom of Naples. For years the struggle for the possession of the kingdom had been bitterly fought between the Angevins and Durazzos, mainly in that part of the country.

Alfonso V, king of Aragon, Sicily and Sardinia, after many battles in which sometimes he was defeated, sometimes victorious, entered Naples in 1442 and reigned there until 1458, in which year he died universally regretted. He was called the Magnanimous, for on entering the kingdom he burned the list of all those who had been his enemies. To his court he called, from his kingdom and from abroad, the most widely reputed scholars. Among these may be cited the names of Il Cariteo, Francesco Filelfo, Lorenzo Valla, Antonio Panormita, Bartholomeo Fazio, Teodoro Gaza, Giannozzo Manetti, Leonardo Aretino, Poggio Fiorentino, Giovanni Aurispa, Gioviano Pontano, and others.

The Papacy itself was not without its troubles. Martino V had succeeded in 1417 in reuniting under his rule the whole church (which until that time had had one pope in Rome and another in Avignone), but at his death in 1431 there were again two popes: Eugene IV and Felix V. At the death of Eugene, Niccolo V was elected, and Felix V abdicated, leaving Niccolo the only head of the Catholic Church. Niccolo also was a great protector of letters as were the lords of the several small states, who maintained splendid courts and encouraged arts and letters.

On the 29th of May, 1453, in the midst of Marino's lifetime, occurred the epochal event touched upon just above. The Turks, who had made rapid strides in eastern Europe, besieged Constantinople, which, after a desperate defense, lasting for two months, fell into the hands of the overwhelming forces of Mohammed II.

In such an environment was born and lived Marino Jonata.

As Dante by the force of the events of his time and of his surroundings became a "sinner," so from Marino's poem we see that Marino was a sinner (Canto XV, Part One, verse 118). As Dante *nel mezzo del camin* repented, so Marino repented in the middle of his life (Canto I, Part One, verse one and note). As Dante wrote a poem of one hundred cantos, so Marino wrote a poem in one hundred and six cantos. The *Divina Comedia* is written in terza rima, and *El Giardino* is written in terza rima. As Dante has Virgil for his guide and Beatrice for his instructor, so Marino has El Gipzo as his guide, Death as his instructor. The

*Divina Comedia* is a human theological poem; *El Giardino* is an ecclesiastically theological poem.

Jonatha's imitation of the *Divina Comedia*, not only in its structure, but in its very words, is such that if we were to undertake to point out all the verses of *El Giardino* which are copied or imitated from Dante's poem, we should find them to number many hundreds.

Thus we may say that Marino is one of the legion of imitators of Dante's *Comedia* who have flourished from Dante's time down to the present day.

Certainly the poem has not, in regard to its conception, any great importance as a contribution to the thought or to the literary art of his century, for nobody nowadays would study theology in a poem, nor art in a poor imitator; it may however have great importance as a source of history, because many a time the author indulges in descriptions or narrations of the troublous events of his time not only in his own country but also abroad; events which have been found to be authentic by confrontation of our author's statements with the testimony of the historians or chroniclers of his time.

But a distinctive importance may be attributed to our poem by reason of the language in which it is written. Certainly it is composed in Italian, but in an Italian in which so much Latin and so many dialectal forms are mingled as to render the reading of it somewhat difficult; a difficulty which is to some extent enhanced by the peculiarities of its spelling. This orthography however is not to be accounted uncommon if we have regard to the manuscripts of other literary works of that time.

And when we see that many works of that time were written in a half-Latin Italian, a typical specimen of them being the *Hipnerotomachia Poliphili* in prose, or the *Canti di Fidenzio Glottocrisio Ludinagistro* in verse, and when we understand from the poem (I. I. 76) that the author used to speak in Latin with his friends, we can not blame him for using so many Latinisms, a custom which prevailed to the end of the century with the works of Jacopo Sannazaro.

Nor ought we to take exception to the many dialectal forms found in Jonata's poem, since dialectal forms swarm in all the

writings of that century in every part of Italy—even in Tuscany, if we except Poliziano's works. Indeed, Lorenzo de' Medici himself, and Bojardo, and Serafino Aquilano, and Federigo Frezzi and all the others, are not exempt from this peculiarity, if we may criticize those authors for an indulgence which was a common habit.

We may then close these remarks with the words which Luigi Settembrini uses in speaking of the Novellino of Masuccio Salernitano:

“La lingua di Masuccio è nobile, mista di alcune parole e modi di dialetto, ma senza goffaggini e storpiature plebee. È la stessa lingua, che parlavano e scrivevano Re Ferrante, Antonello Petrucci e Giovanni Pontano, suoi segretarii; e che si legge, nel Codice Aragonese ossia Lettere Regie, Ordinamenti ed altri atti governativi de' Sovrani Aragonesi di Napoli. È la stessa lingua, che scriveva Francesco Del Tупpo, che tradusse l'Esopo. È la stessa lingua un poco più forbita, che scrisse il Sannazzaro, trent'anni dopo. E la stessa lingua tinta di dialetto, che anche oggi, si parla, fra noi, da le persone civili . . . Masuccio non fu un erudito; però, scrive in lingua materna . . . Egli non fa pompa di storia antica, nè di mitologia, nè di alcuna maniera di erudizione; e parla così alla buona. Ma vivendo egli nel secolo dei latinisti, certi modi e costruzioni latine non sa evitare. . . Ma il buon Masuccio non sa la grammatica, la quale non era, ancora, fatta. Gli eruditi non si curavano del volgare; e contendevano fieramente, fra loro, per qualche parola latina. Però Masuccio spesso vi lascia un gerundio, così, appeso. Comincia una sentenza, con un Elche, che, talvolta, significa onde e, talvolta, significa niente. Usa per la cui cagione, invece di per la quale ragione. Intreccia, stranamente, una proposizione in un'altra. Gli adopera per: a lei, a loro. Si piace di certi modi di dire, tutti suoi, che, spesso, ripete. Così fatte scorrezioni, che si leggono anche nei migliori toscani, sono cosa esteriore, non offendono la verità, l'ordine, la bellezza dei concetti particolari e del pensiero generale. . . La lingua del Novellino è italiana e buona italiana, con una certa tinta di dialetto, non propriamente napolitano ma salernitano. E dico tinta, perchè pochissime parole del dialetto vi sono: le altre son parole comuni, alquanto variate nella terminazione, sia per modo diverso della pronunzia, sia pel modo antico e, ancora incerto, che si teneva nello scrivere. Queste varietà non fanno differenza. . . Io il voglio pur dire. Il Novellino è un libro, che ha pregio, anche, per la sua lingua, che è, sempre schietta, sempre elegante, come si conveniva a signori, e, sempre, efficace. Non è lingua toscana ma



italiana; non è lingua volgare ma materna." . . . In somma, il Guadati ha usato alcuni idiotismi salernitani ed alcuni latinesimi, nè potremo riprenderlo, poichè non eccede, come in nessuno scrittore italiano, si riprendono i latinesimi; e come non si riprenderebbero da alcuno avveduto, ne' fiorentini, i fiorentinesimi, ne' lombardi, i lombardesimi e via discorrendo.<sup>1</sup>

FRANCESCO ETTARI

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

<sup>1</sup> From: Nuova/Crestomazia Italiana/ecc./compilata da/Carlo Maria Talarigo e Vittorio Imbriani/Napoli/Cav. Antonio Morano ecc./1894/Volume secondo, pag. 217-218.

## THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLIER WORKS OF CRESTIEN DE TROYES

**I**N a recent study of the influence of Ovid upon Crestien de Troyes<sup>1</sup> the conclusion was drawn that, contrary to the opinion of scholars in the past, Crestien's *coup d'essai* was a *coup de maître*: *Erec* was not preceded by translations from Ovid and a Tristan story, but the order in which Crestien mentions his works in the opening lines of *Cligés* was the chronological order of their composition.

All the probabilities are in favor of the hitherto accepted chronology. *Erec* holds a worthy place in the group of romances that made Crestien's name famous. As in *Cligés*, Arthur and his knights of the Round Table are ever hovering in the background, coming forward as the exigencies of the story require. The Celtic material that becomes in *Yvain*, *Lancelot* and *Perceval* approachably all absorbing, is already in evidence: Guenievre, Gauvain, Lancelot, Perceval, Key, Yvain, Merlin, *Morgue la fee*, Tristan and Iseut, the Morhot and Brangien, Brittany, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Avalon and the *Isle de Voirre*, the scenes and the personages that play the most important roles in his other master-pieces, all figure in *Erec*.

There is evidence likewise in *Erec* of that interest in things oriental<sup>2</sup> which is more fully shown in *Cligés*. Moreover, if there is, compared with *Cligés*, little Ovidian material in *Erec*,<sup>3</sup> there is also little in Crestien's latest work, *Perceval*.

<sup>1</sup> F. E. Guyer, *The Romanic Review*, Vol. XII, Nos. 2 and 3, 1921. Cf. S. Hofer, *ZrP*, 1921, p. 408 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ll. 2408, 2270, 6673, 98, 6230, and E. Faral, *Contes et Romans courtois*, pp. 366 f., 373 f., 345 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Guyer, p. 233. It is not necessary to see in "the suicide motif" a borrowing from the Pyramus and Thisbe story (ll. 4608 ff.). That Enide should think of killing herself with Erec's sword when she sees him apparently dead before her, might certainly have suggested itself to the poet without any conscious borrowing from any particular story. But since Pyramus is not mentioned in *Erec* and Dido is, it might have been with more probability Dido's killing herself with Enéas' sword that haunted the poet's mind. There are however a few other passages in *Erec* than those in which love is spoken of as giving courage and

It is therefore difficult to imagine that, after writing a successful romance that has so much in common with his other great romances, he should have gone back to translation from Ovid's works in which the writers of his youth were steeped, or to the writing of a Tristan story which was also, as the references to Tristan and Iseut in *Erec* would then show, already beaten ground.

Besides, *Erec* was, judging by the number of manuscripts that have reached our day, a twelfth century "best seller," whereas only one of the works mentioned in *Cligés* after *Erec* has survived, and that one saved from oblivion only because appropriated by a later translator of Ovid. The psychology of advertising was the same then as now: Crestien, who was his own publisher, mentioned first his latest, most popular work to attract his public to the new composition he was about to offer. In spite, however, of the force of these considerations, if the study of Ovid's influence upon Crestien shows indubitably that *Erec* was written before the Ovidiana, the conclusion must be adopted. But does it?

Crestien de Troyes, being acquainted with the Trivium and the Quadrivium,<sup>4</sup> appears to have devoured the literature popular in his youth, the stories and romances of antiquity, and become, perhaps thru Breton lays,<sup>5</sup> interested in Celtic legends which he later strengthened (ll. 911, 4863, 5855) that savor of Ovid. Crestien closes his account of Erec and Enide going to Arthur's court to be married, by the line: *Li uns a l'autre son cuer anble* (1514). Note also ll. 2091 ff.

*Li ocl d'esgarder se refont  
Cil qui d'amors la voie font;  
Et lor message au cuer anvoient, etc.*

In the *Joie de la Cour* episode the absolute subservience of the knight to his lady may well be compared to Lancelot's subservience to Guenevieve:

*Qui veeroit rien a s'amie?  
N'est pas amis, qui antreset  
Tot le buen s'amie fet  
Sanz rien leissier et sanz feintise,  
S'il onques puet an nule guise.  
ll. 6058 ff.*

*Des que je soi le bien an li,  
A la rien que je plus ai chiere,  
N'an dui feire sanblant ne chiere,  
Que nule rien me despleüst, etc.  
ll. 6082 ff.*

Cf. Hofer, o.c. p. 411 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Erec*, 6745 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Lancelot*, 5808 and *Erec*, 6188.

ploited in a masterly manner. His fluent pen and rare references to ancient or contemporary Latin writers forbid our ever thinking of him as seeking primarily to display his learning. As Faral has remarked, it is the writers preceding Crestien that may be compared to the *Pléiade*.<sup>6</sup> In *Erec* we find no "scorn for those who can earn their living by mere story telling,"<sup>7</sup> but simply scorn for those who, desiring to live by story telling, are wont to cut and incorrectly tell the story he is about to tell:

- 19 "D'Erec, le fil Lac, est li contes,  
Que devant rois et devant contes  
Depecier et corronpre suelent  
Cil qui de conter vivre vuelent."

Such expressions as those in the opening lines of *Erec* were the regular stock in trade of the writers of Crestien's day. If "Crestien asserts that he is going to use this romance to show"<sup>8</sup>

- 16 "Que cil ne fet mie savoir  
Qui sa sciance n'abandone  
Tant con Deus la grace l'an done."  
4 "Por ce fet bien qui son estuide  
Aterne a san, quel que il l'et,"

the authors of *Thèbes* and *Troie* had expressed the same ideas before him with more display of learning, and a similar bid for fame;<sup>9</sup>

- Thèbes* 1 "Qui sages est nel deit celer  
Ainz por ço deit son sen mostrer  
Que, quant serra del siècle aiez  
En seit pués toz jorz remembrez.  
Se danz Homers et danz Platon  
Et Vergiles et Ciceron  
Lor sapience celissant  
Ja ne fust d'eus parlé avant.  
Por ço ne vueil mon sen teisir  
Ma sapience retenir," etc.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> E. Faral, o.c., p. 418; cf. Guyer, o.c., p. 127 F.

<sup>7</sup> Guyer, o.c., p. 216 f.

<sup>8</sup> Guyer, o.c., p. 217.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Erec*, 24 ff. cited by Guyer, p. 217.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Troie*, 1 ff.

The more or less trite introduction finished, Crestien's tale follows, deftly fashioned to interest the novel readers of his day with whom then as now neither much moralizing nor much erudition would find favor. The love story and its setting was the attraction.

The bald remark has been made that Crestien never mentions in any of his works any name that had not already been popularized by some story in the vernacular.<sup>11</sup> An examination of Crestien's masterpieces shows this statement to be practically true. In *Erec* we find only the following names famous in classic literature: Alexander the Great, Caesar, Eneas, Dido, Helen, Lavinia, Macrobius; in *Cligés*: Alexander, Caesar, Helen, Etiocles and Polinices, Medea, Narcissus, Octavian, Ovid; in *Lancelot*, simply Pyramus, and none in *Yvain*; all names with one exception,—and how meager the list!—that would come naturally to the pen of any one familiar with simply the most popular romances of Crestien's youth. The mention of Macrobius<sup>12</sup> looks specious, but when it is found that in Macrobius there is no description of a dress such as Crestien says he found in his work, it is plain that Crestien was not scholar enough to verify a reference. The name of Macrobius, famous in the middle ages because of his commentary on Scipio's dream, nicely adorned his tale.

From these considerations it follows that resemblances in Crestien's work to any of his predecessors' must be fairly close to admit that there was any conscious borrowing.

References in *Erec* show that Crestien was already familiar with the romances of *Enéas* and of *Troie*: Enide's cousin was more beautiful than Helen.<sup>13</sup> On Enide's saddle bows was

. . . antaillée l'histoire  
Comant Enéas vint de Troie,<sup>14</sup> etc.

Enide's beauty was greater than that of *Lavine de Laurente*.<sup>15</sup> Being acquainted therefore with these romances, Crestien already had had a course in Ovid, so that whether or not he had yet made

<sup>11</sup> E. Faral, o.c., p. 112.

<sup>12</sup> *Erec*, 6738, 6741; cf. Faral, o.c., p. 345 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Erec*, 6344.

<sup>14</sup> *Ib.*, 5337-5346.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 5891; cf. also Faral, o.c., p. 367.

any translation himself from Ovid, he might have used in *Erec* a mass of Ovidian material comparable to that he did use in *Cligés*. This fact vitiates any argument for the chronology of Crestien's works based upon the Ovidian material in them.<sup>16</sup>

Considerable evidence of borrowings from Ovid, not found in the works of his predecessors known to be familiar to him before he wrote *Erec*, might establish a probability, but could not prove that Crestien wrote his Ovidiana after *Erec*.

Let us examine then the Ovidian material in *Cligés* gathered by Mr. Guyer, and see what is new in it. "In *Cligés* four Ovidian characters are mentioned: Narcissus, Medea, Helen and Paris. Medea's native country Thessaly is also mentioned."<sup>17</sup> These characters play prominent rôles in the story of *Troie*, and the passage cited by Mr. Guyer:

*Cligés* 5299 "Qu'onques ne fu a si grant joie  
Elainne receüe a Troie  
Quant Paris l'i ot amenée  
Qu'ancor ne soit graindre mencee  
Par tote la terre le roi,  
Mon oncle, de vos et de moi."

seems to us much more like an echo of the account in *Troie* of the day when Paris brought Helen to the city:

4855 *Onques nus hom a icel jor,  
Ço nos recontent li autor,  
N'aveit oï anceis parler  
De si grant joie demener  
A nule gent qui fussent vis,  
Com le jor firent el pais.*

The passage in *Cligés* 444-457 may be compared,<sup>18</sup> if one will,

<sup>16</sup> We may speculate upon why so little Ovidian material is found in *Erec*. In *Cligés*, Crestien was elaborating a short story of scarcely more than half an octavo page. (Förster ed., p. xxxii.) Within the conventional length of the romances of the time (*Erec* has 6958 lines, *Cligés* 6785) he could afford to devote a third of his work to the love story of the father and mother of the hero before he has his hero born (l. 2383). In *Erec* he had a tale of some length to tell. The Mabinogion version of it covers in Lady Guest's translation more than forty octavo pages.

<sup>17</sup> Guyer, p. 99.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101 f.

to some lines in Ovid's story of Pomona, altho there is no evidence that Crestien ever paid particular attention to this portion of the *Metamorphoses*, but it certainly gives an excellent résumé of the longer passage in *Enéas*, 7857-8118. If Soredamors and Pomona resemble each other by their attractiveness to men and their "disdain of love," so do Soredamors and Lavine, and if "both Ovid and Crestien mention the vengeance of Love," so does the author of *Enéas*. But in neither case is there given "any pretended derivations of the names of their heroines."<sup>19</sup> Ovid simply says that Pomona was so called because she was zealous in the care of fruitful trees, while Crestien coins a hybrid form, half Teutonic, half Latin, to name his heroine that she herself may later rhapsodize over its significance. But how far removed is Ovid's story of Pomona in spirit, language and style from Crestien's story!

How closely related are *Enéas* and *Cligés*, the comparison of the following passages,<sup>19</sup> cited from *Cligés* to show how Crestien was thinking of Ovid when he wrote them, might suffice to show:

<i>Cligés</i>	460	<i>Bien a Amors droit assené Qu'el cuer l'a de son dart ferue. ..... Et maugré suen amer l'estuet.</i>
<i>Enéas</i>	8057	<i>Amors l'a de son dart ferue,</i>
	8066	<i>La saiete li est colee des i qu'el cuer soz la mamele.</i>
	8061	<i>Voille o non amer l'estuet.</i>
<i>Cligés</i>	944	<i>Par force a mon orguel donté Si m'estuet a son plaisir estre. Or veul amer, or sui a mestre, Or m'apprendra Amors . . .</i>
<i>Enéas</i>	8139	<i>Or m'a amors tote dontee</i>
	8119	<i>De sa maisniee m'estuet estre</i>
	8693	<i>Quant que il vuelt puet de mei faire;</i>
	8313	<i>Or sent mon cuer, or voil amer.</i>
	8183	<i>Amors a escole m'a mise.</i>
<i>Cligés</i>	1030	<i>Mes toz jors m'an sui estrangiee Si le me fet chier comparer Qu'or an sai plus que bues d'arer</i>

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 102; cf. p. 127.

- Enéas      8116      *Ja m'estrangoe ge de lui  
son vengeance en a bien pris  
en grant esfrei a mon cuer mis.*  
8178      *Or sai ge ja d'amor asez;*

"Soredamors' struggle against her love for Alixandre ending in her defeat at the hands of Cupid forms a little psychological drama (444-529 and 873-1046) based on *Amores* I, 2,"<sup>20</sup> just as Lavine's for Enéas (7857 ff.). If Crestien "has imagined the situation of a lover who resists and thereby suffers the punishment that Ovid avoids by yielding to love at once," he has not "taken over Ovid's figure of the ox." Ovid's hero yields because 'one eases a burden by knowing how to carry it: the torch that is shaken only burns more quickly, and goes out when no longer shaken; young oxen who refuse the yoke are more often struck than those who are pleased to wear it thru habit.'

*Amores* I, 2, 13 *Verbera plura ferunt, quam quos juvat usus aratri  
Detrectant pressi dum juga prima boves.*

All that Crestien makes his heroine say is that she knows more of love than oxen of plowing, and in a different context:

- Cligés      1022      *Amors n'est pas si gracieuse  
Que par parole an soit nus sages  
S'aruec n'i est li buens usages.  
Par moi meisme le sai bien;*  
1028      *S'an ai mout esté a escole  
Et par maintes foiz losangiee;  
Mes toz jorz m'an sui estrangiee  
Si le me fet chier conparer;  
Qu'or an sai plus que bues d'arer.*

Compare with these the lines from *Enéas*.

- 8178      *Or sai ge ja d'amor asez;  
bien me disoit ma mere veir  
N'en poeie pas tant saveir  
par nul altre come par mei  
molt en sui sage, bien i vei;  
Amors a escole m'a mise  
En poi d'ore m'a molt aprise.*

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 103.



*Enéas* expresses elsewhere Ovid's thought tho not his figure:

7958 *Soef trait mal ki l'acostume.*  
 8651 *Ki contre aguillon eschalcire*  
*deus foiz se point, toz jors l'oi dire.*

If it was indeed Ovid's figure that Crestien thought to use, he had evidently a very faint memory of it.

Undoubtedly "within this drama Crestien has used motifs from the episodes of Narcissus and of Medea and Jason," but did he get these indubitably directly from Ovid? Of Cligés Crestien says simply:

2767 *Plus estoit biaux et avenanz*  
*Que Narcissus, qui dessoz l'orme*  
*Vit an la fontaine sa forme,*  
*Si l'ama tant, quant il la vit,*  
*Qu'il an fu morz si com on dit,*  
*Por tant qu'il ne la pot avoir.*  
*Mout ot biauté et po savoir.*

The author of *Troie* makes Achilles compare himself to Narcissus:

*Troie*, 17691-17711

*Narcissus sui, ço sai e vei,*  
*Qui tant ama l'ombre de sei*  
*Qu'il en morut sor la fontaine, etc.*

Could any man with the tiniest flame of poesy in his heart have recently read Ovid's beautiful description and kept of all this beauty simply a tree and even this *orme* used only to rime with *forme*?

In *Cligés* 488 f.:

*"Que iauz ne voit, ne cuers ne diaut;*  
*Se je nel voi, riens ne m'an iert;"*

it is far more probable that Crestien was thinking of the old proverb: <sup>21</sup> *Ce que euz ne voit, cuers ne deut*, than of Ovid.

It is interesting to note that almost the identical lines of *Metamorphoses* VII, cited by Mr. Guyer <sup>22</sup> as the source of *Cligés* 894

<sup>21</sup> *Li Proverbe au vilain*, ed. Tobler, No. 40. Cf. Guyer, p. 103.

<sup>22</sup> P. 104 f.

ff. are quoted by M. Faral<sup>23</sup> as an example of the monologues in Ovid that inspired the author of *Enéas*, and there is little in the passage cited from Cligés<sup>24</sup> that cannot be matched in *Enéas*, 8047 ff. The story of Medea and Jason as given in *Troie*, 1245 ff. offers also practically the same elements.

When Crestien elaborates<sup>25</sup> Ovid's line: "*Quoque magis tegitur, tectus magis aestuat ignis*," there is a very strong probability that he never thought of Ovid, because the expression had become a common proverb.<sup>26</sup> In the popular Latin comedy *Pamphilus de Amore*<sup>27</sup> drawn from Ovid by some writer who is generally believed to have lived in the northeast of France between the tenth and the thirteenth century, it is interesting to note the hero putting to himself the question whether it is better to hide the wound he has received and deciding:

- 21 "*Estimo monstrare melius, nam conditus ignis,  
Acrior; effusus, parcior esse solet.  
Ergo loquar Veneri,*" etc.

Besides, Crestien even here does not accurately reproduce Ovid's

<sup>23</sup> O.c., p. 152 f.

<sup>24</sup> The monologue in *Cligés*, 894 ff., is said by Mr. Guyer to be introduced by the statement that "Soredamors' suffering from love has turned her reason to folly" and that "Medea's love monologue in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* has a similar introduction." This interpretation can only come from a misreading of *Cligés* 894-5. These two lines belong to what is gone before. Soredamors, in bed, has been considering again in her heart who and of what character was the one for whom Love was constraining her and when she has well restored her spirits with all that gives her pleasure, then she stretches out and turns over, and in the turning the train of her thoughts turns, too, and she considers folly all that she had been thinking:

885 *Et quant ele a tant traveillié  
Et sangloti et baillié  
Et tressailli et sospiré,  
Lors a an son cuer remiré,  
Qui cil estoit et de ques mors,  
Por cui la destreignoit Amors.  
Et quant ele s'est bien refeite  
De panser, quanque li anheite,  
Lors se restant et se retourne,  
894 El torner a folie atorne  
Tot son panser que ele a fet.*

<sup>25</sup> Guyer, p. 105 f.

<sup>26</sup> A. Vannucci, *Proverbi Latini illustrati*, vol. I, p. 170; J. Weiner, *Lateinische Sprichwörter des Mittelalters*, No. 220; Le Roux de Lincy, v. I, p. 71.

<sup>27</sup> Ed. Menendez y Pelayo.

thought. All he says is that the heat lasts longer under the ashes than upon them.

607 *Einçois dure la chalors plus  
Dessoz la çandre que dessus.*

The words of *Enéas*:

8633 *Quel deffense ai encontre amors?  
N'i valt neient chastels ne tors,  
ne halz paliz ne granz fossé;  
soz ciel n'a cele fermeté  
ki se puisse vers lui tenir  
ne son asalt longues sofrir.*

seem to us to suggest more closely the idea in *Amores* II, 12 than Crestien's words used in speaking of the delusion under which Fénice's husband labored when drugged by Thessala:

*Cligés* 3367 *Car por voir cuide et si s'an prise,  
Qu'il et la forteresce prise.*

For this use of *forteresce*, surely Crestien needed no instruction.

It is rash also to make so bold a statement as that "the four lovers in *Cligés* could never have been imagined without Ovid,"<sup>29</sup> if this means without Crestien's having directly drawn his inspiration from him. The loves of *Enéas* and Dido, of *Enéas* and Lavinia, of Medea and Jason, of Achilles and Polixena, as recounted in *Enéas* and *Troie*, might well have inspired a lesser imagination than Crestien's. But when Mr. Guyer sees in Thessala, Fénice's nurse, an unmistakable descendant of Ovid's nurses, he has the support of M. Faral:<sup>30</sup>

"Nous avons rapproché la scène de la confidence de Lavinie à sa mère de divers passages des *Héroïdes* et des *Métamorphoses*, avec lesquels elle paraît être en rapports étroits: Chrétien a dû connaître ceux-ci directement, puisqu'à la mère il substitue la nourrice, se rapprochant ainsi beaucoup plus du poète latin. D'autre part, . . . il est notable que Thessala se compare à Médée (v. 3031) agissant par les mêmes procédés qu'elle. Et il est notable, enfin, que Chrétien

<sup>28</sup> Guyer, p. 106.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 118 f.

<sup>30</sup> O.c., p. 316 f.

*rien ait consacré aux magiciennes de Thessalie les vers que nous avons cités et qui paraissent bien avoir été inspirés par un souvenir d'Ovide."*

Evidently M. Faral had for the moment forgotten that the story of Medea is recounted also in *Troie*<sup>31</sup> which, it will be remembered, Crestien knew before he wrote *Erec*. Here also Medea

1217-1228

*Mout sot d'engin e de maistrie  
De conjure e de sorcerie, etc.*

Besides, while in Ovid's stories there is sometimes a nurse who is a confidant, in this particular story of Medea there is none. In the story in *Troie*, however, Medea has a *maistre*.

1536 *Une soë maistre apela:  
Tot son conseil li a gehi,  
Car el se fiot mout en li:*

It will be remembered also that *Iseut* whom Crestien also knew before he wrote his *Erec* or his *Cligés* had her *Brangien*. A minimum amount of invention was shown by Crestien in naming Fénice's nurse, who is to prepare the philter for Fénice's husband, Thessala, a word that from Latin times was synonymous with *saga* et *venefica* or *maga*,<sup>32</sup> the Thessalian matrons being so reputed.

All that Mr. Guyer finds<sup>33</sup> on the nature and effects of Love in Ovid and *Cligés* is found in *Enéas* and *Troie* in language and style much more closely Crestien's than Ovid's. Even "the two symptoms of love-sickness not to be found in Ovid," that Crestien has added, "namely, sweating (462) and yawning (885)," are found in these romances: *Dido sofle, sospire et baaille*,<sup>34</sup> and *Amors la fait sovent pasmer et refreidier et tressuer*. Lavine sweats and yawns; *Enéas* sweats. "The famous theory of love wounding the heart thru the eyes"<sup>35</sup> is elaborated after the fashion of *Enéas*, and so obviously that no explanation is necessary.

<sup>31</sup> Ll. 1212-2044.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Lucan, VI, 462; Pliny, XXX, 2; Achilles Tatius, *Melite et Leucippe*, V, 22; Méry, *Histoire des Proverbes, Thessala philtre*, vol. I, p. 73.

<sup>33</sup> Pp. 119-122, 124 f.

<sup>34</sup> *Enéas*, 1231, 1959 f., 8073, 8932; cf. 7920, 7963.

<sup>35</sup> Guyer, p. 222; *Cligés*, 475 ff. This "theory" must in the nature of the

- Enéas 8157 *Ai ge forfait por ce quel vi?  
N'aura Amors de mei merci?  
Il me navra en un esgart,  
en l'oïl me feri de son dart*
- 9885 *L'oïlz est senpres a l'amor  
et la mains est a la dolor  
la main met l'en la o il duelt  
la torne l'oïl o l'amors vuel.  
Por ce di ge, se il m'amast  
al departir l'oïl me tornast.*
- Cligés 488 *Que iauz ne voit, ne cuers ne diaut;*  
490 *Il ne me prie ne requiert:  
S'il m'amast, il m'eüst requiert*
- 501 *Et que m'ont donc forfet mi oel,  
S'il esguardent ce que je vuel, etc.*

In *Cligés*, Mr. Guyer finds "the metaphor of the strong roots of love" taken from Ovid's *Remedia Amoris*.<sup>38</sup> "The command is: *Principii obstat*: for love like a tree quickly sends out strong roots. When it was young it could easily have been pulled up. Crestien has this same idea (654 ff.). But soon the roots have grown too deep." If Crestien has the same idea, he has not used Ovid's figure of speech. He is comparing love to a malady to cure which a doctor might have been summoned. One might readily imagine that he had in mind some words in *Enéas*, so aptly do his words form a rejoinder:

- Enéas 7967 *Encor s'en siut la granz dolçors  
ki tost saine les mals d'amors;  
senz erbe beivre et senz racine,  
a chascun mal fait sa mecine; etc.*
- Cligés 646 *Je sant le mien mal si grevain,*

case be as old as thought. Whether the Greek novelist Achilles Tatius was influenced by Ovid, it would be difficult to prove. At any rate, there is in his story of Leucippe and Clitophon, so popular in the middle ages, an elaboration of this same theory: "Directly I saw her I was lost: for beauty wounds deeper than any arrow and strikes down through the eyes into the soul; the eye is the passage for love's wounds." (Bk. I, 4.) "Try as I would to drag my eyes away from gazing on her, they would not obey me, but remained fixed upon her by the force of her beauty, and at length they won the day against my will." (Bk. I, 9, ed. Gaselee.)

<sup>38</sup> Ll. 91, 87, 106; cf. Guyer, p. 128 f.

que ja n'an avrai garison  
 Par mecine ne par poison  
 Ne par herbe ne par racine  
 A chascun mal n'a pas mecine:  
 651 Li miens est si anracinez,  
 Qu'il ne puet estre mecinez  
 Ne puet? Je cuit que j'ai manti.  
 Des que primes cest mal santi,  
 Se mostrer l'osasse ne dire,  
 Poïsse je parler a mire,  
 Qui del tot me poïst aidier; etc.

Again, if indeed Crestien is imitating Ovid's words: "*Si qua latent melior putat*," in saying:<sup>37</sup>

Cligés      848 Mout volantiens se je seüsse  
 Deüsse, ques an est la fleche, etc.

it is afar off, for Crestien simply says that he did not see and so could not describe what his heroine's dress concealed, while Phoebus (about whom no reference in Crestien shows him concerned) thinks what is hid of Daphne still lovelier than what he sees.

It seems unnecessary to insist that Crestien had a model for making Fénice ask herself whether it was possible that Cligés was deceiving her. Deceitful lovers were a common subject for invective such as Crestien makes.<sup>38</sup> Crestien's contemporary, Gautier d'Arras, of whom Marie de Champagne was also a patroness makes his heroine Geleron question herself as to Ille's sincerity and puts in her mouth a long tirade against light lovers.<sup>39</sup>

Finally, Mr. Guyer finds "certainly a reminiscence of Ovid in the statement that Fénice's door was not closed against Cligés,"<sup>40</sup> because in Ovid the lady's door is often closed against her lover and Ovid recommends this procedure to ladies. The statement occurs in *Cligés* when the hero, returning to Greece from Arthur's court whither he had gone to be knighted, is received with open arms by

<sup>37</sup> Guyer, p. 131.

<sup>38</sup> Guyer, p. 132; Cligés, 4435 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Ll. 1245-1300; cf. also the lines 223 ff. where the words *jangler*, *janglerie*, *janglerie*, etc., are applied to them, and *Cligés*, *jeingleor*, 4438.

<sup>40</sup> Guyer, p. 132 f.

Fénice. It seems in this context far more fitting to find here a reminiscence of the account in *Troie* of Telegonus, Circe's son, after his long wanderings in search of his father Ulysses, reaching his dwelling only to find the doors closed against him with what disastrous results the story goes on to tell:

*Troie*, 30064.

*Cil nel vuelent laissier entrer  
Ains li vuelent les huis fermer.*

*Cligés* 5160 *Et bien sachiez, ne li fu mie  
Li huis a l'ancontre fermez.*

This examination of the Ovidian material in *Cligés* shows that there is not enough in it that was not already in the literature with which Crestien was familiar before he wrote *Erec*, to create even a slight probability that before he wrote *Cligés* he had taken a fresh draft from Ovid. The weight of probability<sup>41</sup> is still on the side of the chronology: the Ovidiana, the Tristan story, *Erec*, *Cligés*.

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<sup>41</sup> Mr. Hofer attempts to support his conclusion that "*die Philomena Zwischen den Erec u. Cligés zu setzen ist* (o.c. p. 410, n. 1) by claiming that a comparison of the entries under *a* in the glossary of De Boër's edition to *Philomena* with the words under *a* in the *Wörterbuch zu Kr. Werken* shows that "*die Anlehnung an den Erec offensichtlich ist, an 2 Stelle folgt dann der Cligés.*" Twelve words, and eleven phrases in which the preposition *an* enters, are cited as common to *Erec* and *Philomena*, while two of these words and four of these phrases are given as found also in *Cligés*, and one word only as common to *Yvain*. To show the nullity of this claim, it is necessary to examine simply the text of *Yvain*. Of the words and phrases cited by Mr. Hofer as common to *Erec* and *Philomena*, instead of simply one word (*angoisse*, l. 14) being common also to *Yvain*, we find: *an anblee*, 1573; *an apert*, 2603; *an vain*, 3916; *an rost*, 1048; *an gré*, 3429; *aïe*, 3046-7 (*grant mestier n'eüst D'aïe*); *achoisson*, 4602; *adroite*, 230; *anragier* (variant, *esragier*) 5609 (*esrage vis et forsane*); *apanser*, 6487; *apareillier e atorne*, 4723 (*A tant s'aparoille e atorne*); *assener*, 1504 (*N'i porroit, ce cuit assener*). Besides these, there are similar expressions not cited by Mr. Hofer: *an ostage*, 6436, *Phi.* 538; *an sus*, 6224, *Phi.*, 450; *an plet*, 4601, *Phi.* 346; *an mi*, 211, *Phi.*, 1412; *anclore*, 1709, *Phi.*, 858; *abelir*, 5230, *Phi.*, 1118; *acoler*, 6115, *Phi.*, 698; *acostumer*, 2024, *Phi.*, 1026; *afoler*, 637, *Phi.*, 1274. Of the 124 entries in the glossary of *Philomena*, 99 are found in the glossary of *Yvain* (Förster's ed. 1912), exclusive of different derivatives of the same word.

## STUDIES IN THE TEXT OF THE SICILIAN POETS

(Continued from Vol. XII, p. 369)

### IV.—THE DISPOSITION OF POEMS IN THE CHIEF SOURCES

AFTER the somewhat meticulous review of textual differences which has occupied the previous papers of this series, it is permissible, I think, to take a somewhat more general survey of the questions raised by the work of the Sicilian poets. This wider view will introduce us to the relations between Sicilian and non-Sicilian groups, and also help us to correlate some of the results previously arrived at. In particular, it will give us a better idea of the relations between P and V, which are the most extensive, and which, in our previous discussion, have been somewhat obscured by the breaking up of the poems into smaller and more manageable groups.

I say in particular the relations of P and V, because they are not only the most extensive but the most instructive.<sup>1</sup> The group of poems in L is much smaller and less comprehensive; and I must admit that I can discover no principle on which it appears to have been formed. It shows no numerical correspondence with either P or V; it is not representative of the whole school; and it omits many of the more beautiful or interesting pieces. The omission, for instance, of any certain poem by Rinaldo d'Aquino is a grave lack, hardly explicable if the scribe had been making any real attempt to be inclusive. Indeed, only the three pieces by Giacomo which stand at the head of the group can be said to show the school at its best. We can therefore safely assume that any information furnished by L will have only a subsidiary character. As for the group in C, which, as I have pointed out, is intended to form a representative collection, its later date puts it out of the running as a primary source, though, as we shall see, it too yields some valuable subsidiary evidence.

<sup>1</sup> A parallel table of poems in PVL will be found in Caix, *Origini*, Appendix IV.



## A. THE DISTRIBUTION OF POEMS IN P AND V

We may begin, then, by discussing the modes of arranging the poems presented by P and V. The former begins with a series of eight poems by Guittone, followed by Mostacci's *Umile core*, and then by a series of fifty-four canzoni alphabetized according to their initial letters. Then comes a series of twenty-five canzoni (Nos. 64-88), arranged on no discoverable principle; then another Guittone group (Nos. 89-98), and a final miscellaneous group, Nos. 99-104. By far the greater number of poems, then, is included either in the alphabetical series or in the miscellaneous series that immediately follows it.

Of the fifty-four poems in the alphabetical series, thirty are explicitly assigned to Sicilian authors, two others, here anonymous (13 and 57), are in V ascribed to Sicilians, and one other anonymous piece (61) was in the lost part of V's Sicilian group (11), probably there ascribed to Giacomo. Of the non-Sicilian pieces, seven are assigned to Bonagiunta, six to Inghilfredi, two to Guinizelli, one to Monaco of Siena, and five are anonymous: one of the latter (60) being given by V to Bonagiunta, and the other four not elsewhere found. Roughly, then, this section is three-fifths Sicilian and two-fifths non-Sicilian. Such is the obvious composition of the series; let us now examine it more minutely.

Of the various alphabetical groups, those beginning with B, I, L, and V contain only Sicilian pieces, those beginning with C, F, N, and Q only non-Sicilian; so that there is nothing more to be said of them. But in the five groups beginning with A, D, G, M, and P the arrangement always is that the Sicilian pieces come first, and the non-Sicilian and anonymous pieces second. The case of S is anomalous. It begins with three poems by Bonagiunta, one of which, beginning *Gidia nè ben*, is out of place; then an anonymous poem which V gives to Rugieri; then a poem with double attribution (Rex Hentius: Semprebonus not. bon.); and lastly one by Inghilfredi. In the case of the two poems in O, P's attributions are to Bonagiunta and to Rinaldo, thus breaking the normal order; but the Bonagiunta poem is by V given to Rugieri, and the *oramai* which gives it its position is obviously unmetrical. If we follow V's attribution, the group would become normal; if we

wish to adhere to P's, we must hold that the poem is misplaced. Finally, in U both poems are anonymous; and though the first is given by V to Bonagiunta, the group is homogeneous on P's attributions—or lack of them.

It seems to me clear that we have here a degree of system which must be the result of design. The anonymity of no. 13, in the *middle* of a Sicilian group, is probably accidental; the insertion of a G poem in the S group is no more than might be done by a modern filing-clerk, especially in a group of poems by a single author; and the case of no. 45 has just been discussed above. If, then, the few departures from the system can be accounted for, while in most cases it is carefully observed, it is obvious that the scribe can hardly be so erratic as some earlier scholars have made him out.

When we turn to the irregular series, we notice the striking fact that only two poems in it are ascribed to Sicilians—64, to Rinaldo, and 71, to Guido delle Colonne, the rest being Northerners, mostly Tuscans. 64, again, is a disputed attribution, V giving the poem to the Pisan Galliziani. It is also worth noting that two other poems of Guido's occur at the very end of the series of canzoni, nos. 102 and 104, and that only one in the alphabetical series (36) is attributed to him. With these exceptions, all the undoubtedly Sicilian canzoni in P are in the alphabetical series.

The grouping of poems in V is on a wholly different system. There the basis, as Caix pointed out, is geographical: "first the Sicilian school in its largest sense, with the Sicilians of the Island in the lead, then those of the other southern provinces, then the few from other parts of Italy. Next follow the Bolognese school, and lastly the Tuscan, in which are clearly distinguished the subdivisions of Pisa, Siena, Lucca, Arezzo, and Florence. The canzoni of the various poets are given consecutively, so that each of them has in the collection a determined place, in which alone, and never elsewhere, his name occurs" (*Origini*, p. 20). Moreover, these main groups are usually followed by more or less lengthy series of anonymous poems. Also, the order in which any particular author's poems are given seems to be purely casual.

With this account of the disposition of poems in the two manu-

scripts, we may proceed to see what conclusions can be drawn from the facts. First of all, it is reasonable to suppose that all the Sicilian poems in P's alphabetical series may have come from a single source, being merely shifted to bring them into the alphabetical order. With V, on the other hand, the increased number of poems would naturally incline us to suppose the use of more than one source, or else of a main source with subsidiaries; or we might conjecture that at least two manuscripts served for the main body, and that additions were made from other sources which came to hand after the main sections were completed. This supposition is at least consistent with the fact that several pieces which P gives to Sicilians occur, anonymous, in groups well along in V, and need not have been regarded by the compiler as Sicilian. Caix, it is true, declares, "It is certain, however, that the scribe did not find all these canzoni thus anonymous, since the authors of some of them are made known to us by other manuscripts, sometimes with a marvellous agreement" (*Origini*, p. 21). For my part, I fail to see the logic of this statement. It is not clear to me how we can tell whether a poem was or was not anonymous in a source which we do not possess. As for the "marvellous agreement," it could at most be exhibited only by the other primary sources, P and L; and as a matter of fact none of the Sicilian pieces in question does occur in L. Caix goes on to argue that the scribe intentionally omitted the names in the later cases because to repeat them "would have destroyed that appearance of order (be it only an external one) which he was striving to give." Such a motive may indeed have played its part; but it still remains impossible to prove that in all cases the names were intentionally omitted. As Caix also admits, these additional canzoni were presumably those which the scribe came across in the course of his work—which therefore it is legitimate to suppose he did not have when he made up his main Sicilian group, and which, accordingly, may very well have been derived from a different source. The poems for which this assumption may be made are these five:

V 73: *Uno piacente sguardo*.—P 21, Piero delle Vigne.

77: *La mia vita è sì forte e dura e fera*.—P 36, Guido delle Colonne.

167: *Amando con fin cor e con speranza*.—P 14, Piero delle Vigne.

177: *Poi ke ti piace, amore*.—P 50, Re Federigo.

302: *In amoroso pensare*.—P 30, Rinaldo d'Aquino.

It will be observed that they belong to three different anonymous groups—the first two to that (Nos. 64–77) which immediately follows the Sicilian group, the third to that (Nos. 166–170) which follows Guittone, and the last to a miscellaneous group at the very end of the manuscript; whereas the fourth occurs, by exception, in a long series (171–99) of named Tuscans, with two names in its heading successively cancelled. It would certainly seem probable that all five came into the compiler's hands incidentally, and not in any large collection of Sicilian pieces; and if that were the case, they might very well have been anonymous into the bargain.

We may summarize the results of our inspection as follows. P offers us as one of its main constituents a series of canzoni alphabetically arranged, consisting partly of Sicilian and partly of non-Sicilian pieces, which, when they occur under the same letter, are in the main carefully kept apart; and almost all the Sicilian pieces occur in this series. V, on the other hand, concentrates practically all its Sicilian pieces in a fairly homogeneous group at the beginning; but five others occur, anonymous, at various points further on. Whether or not the scribe thought they were Sicilian, we cannot tell. Between these series in the two manuscripts exist no discoverable correspondences. In only one case do two poems immediately follow each other in both; P 47 and 48 are V 29 and 30. Again, P 32 and 33 are V 80 and 79; but both these may well be the result of accident. As typical cases of the prevailing divergence, we may take in P the groups I, L, M (Nos. 30–40), which happen to be all Sicilian; the corresponding numbers in V are 302, 28; 80, 79, 83, 60, 77; 1, 179, 2, 13. Or, looking at it from the side of V, Nos. 38–44 all begin with the letter A, but only two of them (40 and 42) are in P, where they are 11 and 13 respectively; and from V 47 on there is a long series which is practically unrepresented in P. We may therefore fairly conclude that not only have the existing P and V no sign of contact, but the distribution of their poems reveals no suggestion of an immediate common source for any considerable number of poems. For any

further evidence, we must examine other groups of facts; I propose to deal with two, the question of omitted stanzas and the question of disputed attributions. The justification for treating them in this connection is that they are more markedly present in the Sicilian group than in any other; there are more cases of them there by actual count, and of course far more in proportion to the number of Sicilian poems.

#### B. THE OMISSION OF STANZAS

The facts to be grouped under this head are not all of precisely the same kind. They affect both Sicilian and non-Sicilian pieces, and they occur to some extent in all the manuscripts. That P has a tendency to omit blocks of lines, and occasionally entire stanzas, is a fact which attentive reading of it soon brings out; but it is not alone in so doing. The question is, are these omissions purely the result of scribal heedlessness, or is some other influence at work? We shall, I think, be less ready to lean too heavily on the first cause when we have seen the variety of cases.

We may have the dropping of a single stanza, either in the body of a poem or at the end. The only example of the first sort in a Sicilian poem is *Madonna mia, a voi mando*, where P omits what is stanza 5 in L. This I take to be a true result of carelessness, as there is nothing peculiar in the wording of the stanza. A similar case is the sixth and last stanza of Fredi's *Doglosamente* (P 86), which is given by V, and also referred to in the reply by Arrigo Baldonasco as given in P 87, and hence was probably omitted in P by inadvertence. In two other Sicilian cases the final stanza is omitted in P; they are *Lo gran valore* (P 34, V 83) and *Meravilliosamente*. But such omission is not peculiar to P; for the final stanza of V 48 (*Oi lasso non pensai*) is omitted in L 118, and in *A pena pare* V omits two stanzas which are rightly given by P, as is shown by the linking. In another group of cases two stanzas are added at the end; this is true of Enzo's *Amor mi fa sovente*, where PV have three stanzas and L five, and of his *S'eo trovasse pietanza*, where PL have three stanzas and VC five. It is also true of Piero delle Vigne's *Amor da cui*, where P has three stanzas, C four, and V five, the added ones having internal

rimes which are not in the first three. Again, in *Uno piacente sguardo* V adds two stanzas, one after P's fourth and the other at the end. In Doria's *Come lo giorno* V and C agree for two stanzas, but C replaces V's third by two others. Lastly, there are two cases of shift of stanza order combined with omission. One is the already mentioned *Meravilliosamente*, where V gives 1 2 3 4 5 6 7, L 1 2 3 4 6 5 7, and P 1 2 3 6 4 5 x; the other is *Gioiosamente eo canto*, where VL have 1 2 3 4 5, and PC 1 3 x 2 x.

Out of the eleven<sup>2</sup> cases thus listed, it is obvious that most involve omission of a final stanza; and a further point of interest is the fact that these omitted stanzas often have the form of a "commiato" or parting address to the poem. This naturally brings before us the question whether or not the Sicilian poets really used such a commiato.

Langley's *Repertory* (p. 516) lists ten cases in which the final stanza of a Sicilian poem is a commiato. Of these, one (his no. 38) is certainly, another (his no. 59) possibly, by the Florentine Beroardi, and hence non-Silician; while of the others only one case is present in both P and V, namely, Guido delle Colonne's *La mia vita è sì forte e dura e fera*. Both manuscripts, it is true, give a commiato to *Lo meo core che si stava*, but P attributes it to Bonagiunta. In Giacomo's *Meravilliosamente* both V and L have the commiato, but with curious variations in the text, which is very mediocre in phrasing. In Piero delle Vigne's *Uno piacente sguardo* the commiato and the other added stanza in V are oddly expressed, and unnecessary to the sense of the poem. In Enzo's *Amor mi fa sovente* only V has the added stanzas, which may, however, be genuine, because of Enzo's later date. Piero delle Vigne's *Amore in cui disio* shows, in V and the second part of L, a commiato which is *not* linked, tho the other four stanzas are; and in *Oi lasso non pensai* the second part of L, despite its general close agreement with V, omits the commiato. Giacomino's *Lontano amore* occurs only in V, and hence cannot be checked up.

<sup>2</sup> Three other cases of omission in P seem not to need detailed discussion here. They are 24: *Del meo voler dir l'ombra*, to which V adds a short commiato of Guittonian pattern; 44: *Non pensai che distretto*, where V adds a final stanza; and 74: *Contra lo meo volere*, where V adds a stanza which is not a commiato, tho it names the author.

All these differences may conceivably be the result of accident; yet it must, I think, strike us as odd that, if the commiato were a regular Sicilian feature, it should be so hard to find an unequivocal instance of it, especially one of an early date.

It has, of course, already been recognized by scholars that the fixing of the commiato as an almost obligatory feature of a canzone is mainly the work of Guittone d'Arezzo. Thus Monaci:<sup>3</sup> "The insertion of the *"invio"* in the text of a piece was, for Italian lyric, practically an innovation of Guittone, who, just as he had imitated the Provençal poets in introducing the commiato, likewise imitated them by making the commiato contain the *"invio"* (p. 659). Thus, even more specifically, Bertoni:<sup>4</sup> "As for the canzone, we can affirm that Guittone was the true establisher of the *tornada* or commiato. Out of his forty-three canzoni, only five lack it. The habit of our southern poets of not adding a commiato, or of substituting for it the last stanza, was followed also by contemporaries of Guittone, even by poets who, like Chiaro Davanzati, were strongly influenced by him. Little by little, however, the habit of attaching a commiato became general, so that in the Trecento pieces that lack it are very rare. Even at the close of the thirteenth century the Florentine scribe of V must have thought the southern poems without a commiato defective, since at the end of many pieces he left a space for several lines." No writer, however, so far as I can find, has raised the question whether the commiato is really attested for the Sicilian poets.

The blank spaces in V, alluded to at the end of the quotation from Bertoni, deserve a moment's scrutiny. According to the editors' notes, they cover from one to nine lines, and occur after thirty-five of the poems between nos. 17 and 94, whereas in the entire remainder of the manuscript, covering over two hundred canzoni, there are only thirty-seven, and more occur at the bottom of the page (a natural enough place for leaving a blank instead of starting a fresh poem) than is the case with the earlier group. It is accordingly a fair conclusion that this phenomenon tends to occur in association with Sicilian or with anonymous poems. Now in

<sup>3</sup> *Sulle divergenze dei canzonieri*, in the Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Sept. 6, 1885, pp. 657-662.

<sup>4</sup> *Il Duecento*, pp. 90-91.

four of the cases of a commiato in V no space is left, and in two others (19 and 49) the gap, of four lines in each case, occurs just *before* the last stanza, the one omitted in P. It is therefore at least conceivable that someone, perhaps the scribe himself, should have appended to some of the poems the commiato which he thought they needed for completeness.

The cases in which this suspicion seems to me most plausible are Giacomo's *Meravilliosamente* and Piero's *Uno piacente sguardo*. Both poems are of sufficient length without the commiato, which also, in both, presents oddities of phrasing. The commiato of the first is in both V and L, with the variants shown by the ensuing parallel text:

V 2

Kanzonetta novella,  
va e canta nova cosa ;  
levati da maitino  
davanti a la più bella,  
fiore d'ogni amorosa,  
bionda più ch'auro fino.  
lo vostro amore ch'è caro  
donatelo al notaro  
ch'è nato da Lentino.

L 58

Mia chansonetta fina,  
va, chanta nova cosa ;  
moveti la maitina  
davante a la più fina,  
fiore d'ogn'amoroza,  
bionda più ch'auro fina.  
lo vostro amor ch'è charo  
donatelo al notaro  
ch'è nato dallentina.

Certainly no great poetic skill was required to produce these very flat lines; and when we consider the added fact that P's text of the poem is singularly good, I think we are justified in holding that Giacomo was not responsible for them.

The two doubtful stanzas in Piero's poem are given only in V; and here too it may assist the reader's judgment if I quote them *verbatim*. The first, inserted after P's fourth stanza, is as follows:

Lasso ch'io sono incapato;  
vegiomi strana contrata  
e sono lontano da li miei paesi;  
amore m'à impelagato,<sup>5</sup>  
furtuna m'è churuciata,  
da poi che'n questi tormenti mi misi,  
e io non so la via ove mi gire;  
convenemi sofrire—este gram pene,  
ca per durare male à l'omo bene.

<sup>5</sup> The earliest citation for this word in the dictionaries is one from Jacopone da Todi; the present passage, whether interpolated or not, would probably be earlier. The etymology given by some is from Latin *implicare*; surely it is rather from the Greek  $\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ .



And the commiato:

Canzonetta piagente,  
poi ch'amore lo comanda,  
non tardare, e vanne a la più fina,  
saluta l'avenente  
e dille c'a voi mi manda  
uno vostro fino amante da Mesina.  
Mandavi esto cantare,  
devi degia membrare—del suo amore;  
mentre che vive è vostro servidore.

Here too the diction is curious; the first inserted stanza adds nothing to the thought of the poem, and the commiato is again rather flat. Since the poem is in V anonymous and out of position, it seems not impossible that in the course of its transmission someone tucked in the extra stanzas.

A complete evaluation of the evidence presented in this section requires also a view of the topic next to be taken up; but we can at least say that if the Sicilians did regularly use the commiato, it is strange that there should be so little evidence of it, whereas we can easily see how later scribes might occasionally have made good, what would seem to them, on the basis of contemporary practice, a lack. This possibility of later addition or reworking is reinforced by the poems in which the order of stanzas varies, or in which, as in *Venuto m'è in talento*, we actually possess two distinct versions. If we consider, by way of contrast, the work of poets known to be later, we find, for instance, that while P, V, and L give four canzoni of Guinizelli's, there is in no case alteration in the order or number of stanzas; and that, while the same manuscripts contain eighteen complete canzoni of Guittone's, there are very few cases of either phenomenon, despite the length of many of the canzoni in question. It therefore seems fair to conclude that the Sicilian poems show, in this respect, a different and probably more complicated sequence of transmission.

### C. CONFLICTING ATTRIBUTIONS

Even more than the omission of stanzas, the attribution of the same poem to different authors is a feature characteristic of the Sicilian group. Outside of that group there are but three cases in

the primary sources, and two of those may not really involve different persons; they are

*Lontan vi son, ma presso v'è lo core.*—V 171, Carnino Ghi-berti; P 80, Amoroso da Firenze.

*Nom pensai che distretto.*—V 117, Bartolomeo Mocari da Siena; P 49, Monacho da Siena. In both, at all events, poets of the same city are indicated. The third case is

*Spesso da gioia nasce ed incomenza.*—V 108, Tomaso da Faenza; P 65, Siribuono Giudice. But in the Sicilian poems there are no less than twenty cases among some eighty poems, and all the manuscripts participate in the interchange of authors.

Before trying to group the various instances, we may glance at two attempts to explain the condition as a whole. The earlier is that of Monaci, as set forth in his already cited memoir *Sulle divergenze dei canzonieri*: "That the cause of these variations was the faithlessness or the caprice of the copyists is, in the greater part of the cases, quite unthinkable. If it had been, the exchanges would not have been limited to poets of the same period, and their number, smaller in the older manuscripts, would have gone on increasing in the later copies and compilations; whereas we find just the opposite state of affairs, since the later collections generally hold to one or other of the traditions represented by V, L, or P, and since the divergences of attributions almost always go back to these, the three oldest" (p. 658). He therefore argues that, tho there may be occasional cases of pure mistake, most of the confusions arise from the partial transcribing of headings in which the author of a poem named the person to whom he sent it, so that the latter's name might replace the former's. The value of this view we shall consider further in a moment.

The second theory, that of Tallgren,<sup>6</sup> falls back on the assumed carelessness of P: "The attributions of P cannot be sustained, in the case of the poets here in question, in a number of cases amounting, by my count, to about 29<sup>7</sup> per cent., without counting the

<sup>6</sup>*Sur la rime italienne et les Siciliens du xiii Siècle*, in *Mémoires de la Société néophilologique de Helsingfors*, Tome v, 1909, p. 308, note 2.

<sup>7</sup>I do not know by what process Tallgren arrives at this figure. If he means Sicilian pieces in P, there are 16 out of 33, or nearly 50 per cent; if he means the whole Sicilian corpus, there are 16 out of about 80, or 20 per cent.

fairly numerous anonymous pieces. Hence we are led to suspect that P's variant attributions cannot in all cases be explained by the ingenious theory of poetical correspondence. In fact, I believe that the copyist, when furnishing with rubrics the text which he had previously copied, may often have made mistakes in the task because the prototype **P** did not contain the same number of pieces as **P**, copy or rather extract of it. I mean that, heedful of little beside the elegance of his work, the artist who executed this new manuscript may have admitted, let us say, three or four rubrics in succession as they appeared over an equal number of successive pieces in **P**, without perceiving that **P** contained only one or two of them, thus coming to write mistakenly, over a given poem, the name of Guido delle Colonne which in **P** had appeared over one of the preceding poems, which we cannot now point out, since it has been omitted in **P**.—Now, if the hypothesis thus sketched seems in any degree acceptable, the rubrics should in general preoccupy us even less than they do to-day."

To this I must say that Tallgren's hypothesis does not seem to me acceptable at all. A scribe who was capable of carrying out the careful alphabetical distribution which we have noted in **P** was also capable of placing most of the rubrics (I do not say all) where they belonged; and I hope that the myth of his heedlessness has been sufficiently demolished by the evidence already presented. As for the conjecture that **P** is an extract from a more extensive manuscript, I can see no evidence that positively supports it, and some that makes against it; and if, as is entirely possible, the alphabetical arrangement is due wholly to the scribe of **P**, Tallgren's hypothesis as to the rubrics becomes unnecessary. In any case, we cannot be helped, in settling attributions, by reference to a manuscript which we do not possess.

Something of the same uncertainty besets Monaci's more reasoned theory. The basic difficulty with it is that we have only one plausible case of the kind he postulates, and that only if we fill out the heading of **P** 65 as **REX HENTIUS SEMPREBON[O] NOT[ARIO] BON[ONIËNSI]**. In **L** 72, **DOMINO RAINALDO D'AQUINO** may be taken as a Latin dative; and there are in **P** and **L** slight traces of other Latin headings. **P** 50 is headed **REX HENTIUS**, **P** 15 **REX**

HENTIUS (L 64, REX ENSO), P 62 ARRIGUS DIVITIS, and P 70 GALLECTUS DE PISIS. There is in L no entire Latin heading in the nominative, and in V there is no trace of Latin whatever. Hence, even if we assume the existence of earlier Latin headings on Monaci's model, we must admit that almost no traces of them survive—certainly fewer than we should expect if they had been the rule in the earliest manuscripts. Again, since there were abundant precedents in Provençal for the insertion of the destinee's name in the poem itself, when any direct address was intended,<sup>8</sup> why was the use of the superscription necessary, or, if necessary, why was it so suddenly replaced by another device? There is the further slight difficulty that the theory involves the assumption that the poems were exchanged almost wholly between the poets themselves, which was not the case with the Provençal poets or with Guittone. In any case, we are dealing with data almost wholly speculative; and since, in the absence of the hypothetical complete heading, we could not tell whether the extant name indicated the writer or the person to whom the poem was sent, Monaci's hypothesis, like Tallgren's, does not help us to decide cases of actual conflict. Let us see, then, whether the cases as they actually stand can be so grouped as to throw any further light on the problem.

The first group to be considered is that in L, where we have a series of poems, nos. 55-67, consisting almost wholly of undoubted Sicilian pieces:

55: *Madonna, dir vi voglio*.—Giacomo (so PV).

56: *Ben m'è venuta prima cordoglienza*.—Giacomo (so PV).

57: *Madonna mia, a voi mando*.—Giacomo (V lost; P, Rugieri).

58: *Meravilliosamente*.—Giacomo (so PV).

59: *In alta donna ò miso mia intendenza*.—Galletto (V, anon.).<sup>9</sup>

60: *Già lungamente, amore*.—Rugieri (V, Galliziani; P, Giacomo).

61: *Vostr'orgogliosa cera*.—Giacomo (V, Arrigo Testa; P, Arrigus Divitis).

62: *Amore avendo interamente voglia*.—Mazzeo (so V; P, Ranieri).

63: *Membrando ciò k'amore*.—Giacomo (V, Beroardi; P, Piero delle Vigne).

64: *Amor mi fa sovente*.—Re Enzo (so PV).

65: *S'eo trovasse pietanza*.—Re Enzo (so P; V, Nascimbene).

<sup>8</sup> See Monaci's remarks on *invio* and *commiato* quoted in the preceding section.

66: *Ancor ke l'aigua per lo foco lassi*.—Guido delle Colonne; so P).

67: *Assai mi plageria*.—Stefano da Messina (V, anon.).

After three pieces by Bonagiunta, and one by Betto Mettifuoco, comes

72: *Biasmomi dell'amore*.—Rinaldo d'Aquino; later hand (so P; V, Galliziani).

Out of this series of fourteen poems, the attributions of seven are disputed; but in the case of 65 the attribution of P and L to Enzo may be pretty safely preferred to V's to Nascimbene. In the other six, the names in L are all those of early Sicilians—Giacomo, Rinaldo, Rugieri; whereas V introduces the otherwise unknown Galliziani, P the otherwise unknown Ranieri, and both P and V introduce a writer whose first name is clearly Arrigo, whatever his last name may have been.<sup>10</sup> We have already seen, in the review of variants, that L's tradition is not that of P or of V; these differences of attribution confirm that view, but whether their reference to older members of the school indicates a really old affirmation is less easy to make out.

The second group is that contained in the second part of L (henceforth noted here as L<sup>2</sup>). It is well known that this offers a series of Sicilian poems in a text closely parallel to that of V. The relations between the two have been summarized by Caix (*Origini*, pp. 24–26) in a fashion which can hardly be improved upon to-day. "We have," he says, "the same names in the same succession, with the same pieces under each name, except that V has a much larger number, so that those which in L<sup>2</sup> follow without interruption are in V interspersed with others. The readings of the two manuscripts are likewise in full agreement, extending even to errors and distortions. There are entire canzoni, such as

<sup>9</sup> This poem raises a slight problem concerning its real origin. In technique it is thoroughly Sicilian; it occurs here among Sicilian poems, not in the regular Pisan group; in V it is not with the only other extant poem ascribed to Galletto (the sirventese *Credea essere, lasso*) but in an anonymous group which includes other probably Sicilian pieces. It is not at all like the sirventese; so that I wonder whether L's ascription may not be either an error or a reference to another poet, and the poem be really Sicilian. I do not recall having seen this point raised elsewhere.

<sup>10</sup> I cannot share Monaci's confidence that P's *divitis* is a mere scribal slip for *de Aritio*.

those of Tomaso di Sasso, which scarcely differ at all in the two manuscripts. If to this it be added that the system of orthography also agrees in its most characteristic traits, it is evident that the relations between the two manuscripts cannot be merely casual. Yet among the canzoni we notice two exceptions to this constant agreement. The canzone *Assai cretti celare* is in V (no. 39) attributed to Stefano of Messina, and would thus interrupt the series of Piero delle Vigne, whereas in L<sup>2</sup> it goes under his name and the one which follows is attributed to Stefano. In this it seems to us that L<sup>2</sup>'s order should be considered the correct one, as more consonant with the noted criteria of arrangement in the manuscript, and that of V, on the other hand, as an effect of the easy interchange of two neighboring names. The other exception, harder to explain, is the placing and attribution of the canzone *Oi lasso, nom pensai*, which in L<sup>2</sup> is attributed to Re Federigo and follows one of Guido delle Colonne, while in V we find it placed further on and attributed, with another, to Ruggerone, whose canzoni (nos. 49 and 50) stand between two of Federigo, called first *Re*, as in L<sup>2</sup>, then *Imperatore*. These various anomalies, which in V are verified for nos. 48-51, lead us to believe that here too there was an error on the part of the scribe of this manuscript, even tho we lack the terms of comparison to give a full account of this interchange. At all events these divergences prove that, however intimate the relations between the two manuscripts, it is hard to admit that one is derived from the other. For that matter, that V should be derived from L<sup>2</sup> is shown to be impossible by the mere fact that the latter has only a small part of the material of the former, and hence could not determine either its arrangement or its spelling. That L<sup>2</sup> should be derived from V, on the other hand, appears very improbable because of certain sound readings and archaic forms which, in spite of the agreement between the two, are encountered here and there in L<sup>2</sup>, correcting or completing the less accurate readings of V, just as the differences in the order of the canzoni in L<sup>2</sup> throw some light on the irregularities noted in V. Hence we may hold that the two scribes had before them one and the same collection, from which that of L<sup>2</sup>, to fill the few leaves left at his disposal, selected only a few pieces of the most

famous poets, as his space permitted, while that of V reproduced it, if not entire, at least in great part, and made it the foundation of the first division of canzoni, that which was to contain the southern poets, with the exception of those of Mazzeo, probably found in another collection and added further on."

I have quoted Caix thus at length because of the opinions he expresses with reference to the poems regarding which V and L<sup>2</sup> differ in attribution. The assumption of a mere shift of rubrics is easily made; but a closer view of the parallel with V may make us a bit more doubtful. The force of the argument really rests on the assumption that the scribe of V had present to his mind from the very start that principle of keeping the poems of a given author together which he does adopt, as Caix notes, in the case of later poets. He begins, it is true, with a solid block of Giacomo; but unfortunately we cannot determine its limits because of the gap which has deprived us of nos. 10-15 and of the heading of 16—the latter given by P to Guido delle Colonne, tho by L<sup>2</sup> to Giacomo. 17, however, is by V itself given to Rugieri, and 18 to Giacomo again. Now it is sheer assumption—plausible, no doubt, but still assumption—that every poem in the lost group was by V assigned to Giacomo. 12 is so assigned by P, 13 by L, 14 by L; but 11 is anonymous in P, and 10 and 15 have not been elsewhere preserved. At all events, 19-26 form a miscellaneous group, one or two poems to an author, before we reach the next solid series, that of Rinaldo (27-34). 35-41 are again miscellaneous; then there is the Mostacci group (42-47), then a miscellany (48-54), then the Giacomino group (55-62). Now if the scribe had from the start intended to keep large groups together, might he not naturally have put the miscellaneous poets by themselves, as he did the anonymous canzoni? And can we not infer from his failure to do so that he was working from more than one source? This further inference is also supported by the fact that the parallel series in L<sup>2</sup> grows more and more widely spaced as it goes on; and in this connection it is interesting to note that L<sup>2</sup> 117, one of the disputed poems, is next to the last, separated from its corresponding predecessor in V by six numbers, and part of a long series in V which has no counterpart in P, so that L<sup>2</sup> may have got it from

a different source. It also, as was noted in the previous section, lacks the commiato which is given in V. As for the other disputed pair (V 39 and 40), it must be remarked that the ascription of 40 to Piero delle Vigne is supported by P, in one of those "marvellous agreements" which Caix signalizes, and also that he is perhaps hardly justified in speaking of a "series" of Piero's poems in V. Such a series, even accepting his assignment of 40, would consist of but three poems, a far smaller number than the (certainly) twelve assigned to Giacomo, the eight to Rinaldo, the six to Mostacci, or the eight to Giacomino. I must conclude, then, that the hypothesis of mere interchange of headings is too simple to be convincing, and that in the case of Piero's canzone the shift of attribution may perfectly well be an error of L<sup>2</sup>.

We can gain a further light on the probable plurality of sources in this part of V by noting that relatively few of the poems in the VL<sup>2</sup> series are represented in P—to be exact, only five out of seventeen—and that, with P and L<sup>2</sup>, one often ends just where the other begins. Since it is unlikely that this is because the scribe of L<sup>2</sup> carefully omitted poems which he knew were in P, we must conclude that the common source (or the two manuscripts representing it) lacked these other poems. Between these partial series of VP or of VL of course come tracts for which V is our sole source; and it is worth noting that these occur in the blocks of poems ascribed to a single author as well as in the miscellaneous ones, thus showing, I think, that these blocks are the result of the scribe's arrangement of material from different sources, not the following of something he already had before him. For that matter, the larger a manuscript, the greater the presumption that a variety of sources was employed.

Apart from the cases thus far discussed, it does not seem that much light can be thrown on disputed attributions by considering the respective manuscript traditions, unless we adopt Tallgren's simple view that P is generally wrong "on principle," which I for one decline to do. That leaves, as the only additional resource, a careful comparison of metre and style, which would demand the preliminary making of a careful lexicon of the poets in question—a task hardly likely to be undertaken just now, if ever, tho it



would also be a help in deciding between what I have called "neutral" variants, and in the closer study of the anonymous pieces. Any discoverable differences would probably be slight; yet some might be made out. In three cases, at least, this test could not apply. Two of them are poems which V attributes to Mazzeo—*Amore avendo* and *Lo gran valore*. P gives the former to Ranieri of Palermo, the latter to Rosso of Messina. These names do not appear elsewhere in the manuscripts, and our acceptance of them depends wholly on our faith in P.<sup>11</sup> All I care to say is that unfamiliar names might readily be replaced by a more familiar one, and that P seems to be the manuscript which carries us furthest back. The third case is *Come lo giorno*, which V gives to Doria and C to Semprebene. We have only one other poem of Doria's, and none of Semprebene's, if we assign to Enzo *S'eo trovasse pietanza*. But in addition to the poems thus far disposed of we are left with thirteen whose authorship is clearly disputed, and a fair field for stylistical investigation. These, for the convenience of anyone who wishes to test them further, I list in the ensuing table:

1. *Biasmoni dell'amore*.—P 64, L 72, Rinaldo; V 110, Galliziani.
2. *Di sì fina ragione*.—P 22, Rugieri; V 46, Mostacci.
3. *Già lungamente, amore*.—P 28, Giacomo; V 111, Galliziani; L 60, Rugieri.
4. *Gioiosamente eo canto*.—P 26, C 242, Mazzeo di Rico; V 23, L 117, Guido delle Colonne.
5. *Guiderdone aspetto avere*.—P 27, C 230, Rinaldo; V 3, Giacomo.
6. *In un gravoso affanno*.—P 31, Rugieri; V 28, Rinaldo; C 237, Giacomo.
7. *La dolce cera piacente*.—P 35, C 241, Piero delle Vigne; V 60, Giacomino.
8. *Lo meo core ke si stava*.—P 45, Bonagiunta; V 19, Rugieri.
9. *Madonna mia, a voi mando*.—P 40, Rugieri; L 57, Giacomo.
10. *Membrando cid k'amore*.—P 38, Piero delle Vigne; V 179, Beorardi; L 63, Giacomo.
11. *Oi lasso, non pensai*.—V 49, Ruggerone; L 118, Re Federigo.
12. *Poi non mi val merzè nè ben servire*.—P 71, Guido delle Colonne; L 114, Giacomo.
13. *Poi tanta caunoscenza*.—P 49, Mostacci; V 37, Piero delle Vigne; C 236, Giacomo.

Whatever view we take of these divergences, we must, I think,

<sup>11</sup> On the Rosso family in Messina see Torraca, *Studi*, pp. 101-2 and 183-4. Nothing seems to have been made out as to the identity of Ranieri.

agree with Monaci that they go back to an early stage in the history of the text, and that they are not, in the main, due to mere scribal caprice. Whether we can go much, if at all, beyond these two statements is perhaps hard to say; but both also hold true of the omission of stanzas, tho the two groups of phenomena are not markedly correlated. It now remains to draw together our various threads and see to what final position they lead us.

### CONCLUSION

In the absence of any direct knowledge of what lies behind our three primary sources, we can only judge the value of their respective traditions by considering the merits of the text they offer. The preceding discussion of variants has afforded some material for this, and I do not wish to repeat the conclusions I have already drawn, except to say again that all the evidence at our disposal confirms the view that all three traditions are largely independent of one another. We can, however, by comparing them, make out some of the separate strands which compose them; and I now wish to point out such of these as are unmistakable, with a note on the omissions and disputed attributions furnished by each. We have, then:

1. The source of the alphabetical series in P, so far as Sicilian, with the corresponding numbers in V, mostly not in L. Very likely, in each case, a single manuscript, the pair being mutually independent, and jointly forming the best basis for close study of the text. Numerous disputed attributions and stanzaic variations.

2. The source of the "Northern" and anonymous poems in P's alphabetical series, much of it (Inghilfredi and anonymous pieces) represented in no other manuscript.

3. Source of the series VL<sup>2</sup>, the contacts of which with P are probably accidental. Three cases of disputed attribution, one of omitted stanza.

4. Source (or sources) of L<sup>1</sup>, not identical with any of others, unless we assume an entire reworking on the part of the scribe, which seems unlikely. Seven cases of disputed attribution, two of stanzaic variation.

5. Source of those poems in C which do not derive from P's

tradition (see second paper of this series). One disputed attribution.

6. Source (or sources) of named poems which we have only in V (hence uncontrollable by other evidence).

7. Sources (probably scattering) of poems found in V's anonymous groups (see list above, pp. 64-65).

These heads, be it noted, cover only the traditions which are clearly marked as separate; many of them may be plural, and we of course cannot tell how many sources lie behind those poems of V for which no other source is preserved; I should suppose them to be fairly numerous. Here, surely, is sufficient variety to explain a large amount of shifting in both text and attributions; but also, as it happens, some evidence which indicates the existence of a single primitive nucleus.

The likelihood of such a nucleus is shown first of all by the fact that practically all the poems in both P and L are represented in V, the only exception being P 46, ascribed to Rinaldo. It is shown, secondly, by the fact that disputed attributions in poems common to P, V, and L are not haphazard, but form a definite group, the chief members of which are Giacomo, Piero delle Vigne, Rinaldo, Mostacci, and Rugieri—precisely those who are known or supposed to be the oldest members of the school. It is, thirdly, indirectly confirmed by attributions in C which differ from those in P. C does not contain the names of Mostacci or Rugieri; but it ascribes to Giacomo two poems which P gives to Mostacci and Rugieri respectively. Since they belong to the group in which C does not follow P's tradition, we cannot be sure whether the scribe of C is responsible for the shifts; but it is highly probable that both cases represent the substitution of the more familiar name of Giacomo. In general, I should say that C and L<sup>1</sup> are of less weight in fixing attributions, especially when they assign poems to Giacomo; for the name of the most famous member of the school would be more likely to crowd out the name of a lesser one than the reverse. On the other hand, the general agreement between L<sup>2</sup> and V makes the former's departures more striking, and perhaps more significant.

We may, I think, fairly assume that practically all the poems

in PVL and PV attributed to the authors named were in this primitive nucleus, but that they did not descend from it in parallel channels to the existing manuscripts. On this point, however, we are reduced to speculation. The wide range in similarity of readings in P and V seemingly indicates that a few of the poems came down pretty directly, whereas others travelled through several intermediaries, especially before they reached V. On the other hand, this nucleus presumably did *not* include poets and poems for which V is our sole source—notably, among the former, Odo delle Colonne, Compagnetto, and Giacomino. I also infer, from the evidence of P's alphabetical series, that Guido delle Colonne's poems were mostly not included in this nucleus, as, indeed, their later date would make likely. It is, further, probable that the source of the VL<sup>2</sup> group was distinct, tho it must go back to almost as early a period. Finally, it seems safe to assume a certain amount of more or less conscious "editing" in addition to the natural changes of form as the poems passed from their original dialectal dress to that of their various Tuscan scribes—a factor to be taken into account in the weighing of readings.

Such, then, are the main results to which I am led by careful scrutiny of the evidence. I have tried, so far as possible, to state the facts accurately, and to avoid drawing more than the most immediate inferences. It may be said that the Sicilian poets do not deserve so much pains. Perhaps not; yet their historical position makes them important, and their poetic merit is not so negligible as some would have it. If we are to say anything about them at all, we might as well be accurate in so doing; and the circumstances under which their poems have been transmitted necessitate a considerable amount of careful disentangling in order to reach even an approximately correct view. For my own part, I do not think the time spent in gaining such a view has been wasted.

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NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI AND THE *SEI GIORNATE* OF  
SEBASTIANO ERIZZO

THE influence exercised by Niccolò Machiavelli on the Italian short story writers of the sixteenth century is sufficiently well known. In an article recently published,<sup>1</sup> Signorina Cristina Agosti Garosci proved that Matteo Bandello took the first story of the first part of his works from the *Istorie fiorentine* and that in the writings of the Lombard novelist a number of passages are found which remind the reader of the political treatises of the Florentine statesman. It is but natural, then, that Machiavelli had a similar influence on the *Sei Giornate* of Sebastiano Erizzo, a contemporary of Bandello, though the stories of both writers have otherwise very little in common.

As a basis for this study I use for the *Sei Giornate* the recent edition of G. Gigli and F. Nicolini,<sup>2</sup> for Machiavelli's *Principe* the edition of L. Arthur Burd,<sup>3</sup> and for his other works the edition of

The *Sei Giornate* impress the reader at once by their didactic and moralizing character.<sup>5</sup> Each story, called *Avvenimento* by the author, contains at least one long and tiresome discourse written in a highly polished language. Furthermore, many tales begin with a learned discussion of the events told in the foregoing narrative. A large number of these discourses and discussions are mere digressions which have very little to do with the story; often they are entirely out of place. It appears that Erizzo had a liking for political science; for a large number of his tales treat subjects from which political lessons can be derived. This makes it clear that

<sup>1</sup> *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, LXIV, 172.

<sup>2</sup> *Novellieri minori del Cinquecento: G. Parabosco—S. Erizzo*, a cura di G. Gigli e F. Nicolini, Bari, Laterza, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> Oxford, 1891.  
1820.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Opere di Niccolò Machiavelli*, Firenze, N. Conti, 1820.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Francesco, *Il Cinquecento*, Milano, Vallardi, n. d., p. 430.

he must have been well acquainted with the works of Machiavelli. In the following pages I shall try to show that there exists in the *Sei Giornate* a large number of passages which were taken from the treatises of the Florentine statesman and that in many of Erizzo's discourses and discussions the influence of Machiavellian doctrines is evident.

The following parts of the *Sei Giornate* were borrowed from the works of Machiavelli, often being taken over literally.

*Avvenimento* VI: Discourse of King Guicciardo,<sup>6</sup> from *Discorso II sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio*, cap. XII.<sup>7</sup>

*Avvenimento* XII: Discourse of Timoleon,<sup>8</sup> from *Discorso* III, cap. V.<sup>9</sup>

*Avvenimento* XVI: Funeral oration of King Clearco,<sup>10</sup> from *Discorso* I, cap. XIX,<sup>11</sup> and *Principe*, cap. XVII.<sup>12</sup>

*Avvenimento* XX: Discourse of Aristogeiton,<sup>13</sup> from *Discorso* III, cap. VI,<sup>14</sup> and *Principe*, cap. XIX.<sup>15</sup>

Let us now determine what doctrines of the Florentine statesman attracted the attention of the novelist to such an extent that he incorporated them in his *Sei Giornate*.

In *Avvenimento* VI, King Guicciardo of Cyprus, being a prisoner of the Moors with his friend and ally Rinieri of Sicily, discusses the advantages and disadvantages of offensive and defensive warfare according to Machiavelli's treatise and arrives at the same result as his model: that defensive warfare is generally to be preferred. Erizzo copies entire passages from the work of the Florentine and illustrates his argumentation by the same examples which Machiavelli chooses: the Sicilian expedition of the Athenians and the myth of Anthæus.

In *Avvenimento* XII, Timoleon emphasizes the duty of princes

<sup>6</sup> *Novellieri minori*, p. 244.

<sup>7</sup> *Opere*, IV, 46.

<sup>8</sup> *Novellieri minori*, p. 282.

<sup>9</sup> *Opere*, IV, 138.

<sup>10</sup> *Novellieri minori*, p. 304.

<sup>11</sup> *Opere*, III, 295.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 292.

<sup>13</sup> *Novellieri minori*, p. 325.

<sup>14</sup> *Opere*, IV, 140.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 312.

to obey the laws of the country and the danger that arises for their thrones once they begin to break them.<sup>16</sup>

The funeral oration contained in *Avvenimento* XVI takes up the Machiavellian discussion of the prince who inherits a throne, although it is hard to see how a similar argumentation could ever find place in a funeral oration. The result arrived at is that of the Florentine writer, that is, a successor will find it far easier to maintain himself than the founder of a dynasty and that he need possess only a part of his predecessor's strength.<sup>17</sup>

In the same oration, Erizzo discusses the question whether a prince must be loved rather than feared or vice versa, a question which occupies a large space in Machiavelli's writings.<sup>18</sup> The Venetian agrees with the Florentine statesman in that fear is a better means to maintain a prince than love; but like Machiavelli he adds that the prince must be careful to avoid being hated by his subjects; for hatred and fear are not necessarily the same thing.

*Avvenimento* XX contains, in the form of a dialogue between Harmodius and Aristogeiton, a long discussion of conspiracies, taken from *Discorso III sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio* and the *Principe*. The novelist copied large parts of Machiavelli's treatise without material changes. The discussion is continued in the beginning of *Avvenimento* XXI, taken from the same source.

Erizzo was not satisfied, however, with taking over passages from Machiavelli's treatises for the mere purpose of enlarging his discourses. His whole work, the *Sei Giornate*, is based on a conception similar to that which made the Florentine secretary famous and the founder of political science in modern times; I am referring to the idea of deriving political lessons from history and of using the ancient historians as teachers of modern statecraft. This conception is expounded at length in the introduction to *Discorso I*<sup>19</sup> and afterwards in the *proemio* of the *Sei Giornate*.<sup>20</sup>

In *Avvenimenti* XVII and XVIII, Erizzo praises the characters of the lawgivers Zeleucus and Charondas, who insist upon

<sup>16</sup> Cf. also *Discorso I*, cap. XVI (*Opere*, III, 286), cap. LVIII (*Opere*, III, 382), and *Novellieri minori*, p. 330.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. also *Discorso I*, cap. XIX (*Opere*, III, 295). *Novellieri minori*, p. 330.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Principe*, cap. XVII, p. 290; cap. XIX, p. 309; *Discorso III*, cap. XIX (*Opere*, IV, 200).

<sup>20</sup> *Novellieri minori*, p. 206.

carrying out the law, even in cases when it goes against their own interest and that of their family. The same problem is treated at length by Machiavelli in chapter XLV of *Discorso I*,<sup>21</sup> where the same arguments are put forth which Erizzo uses in the discourses of his two heroes.<sup>22</sup>

It is well known that Machiavelli attached much value to the rôle which religion has to play in a state, because he considered it a necessary tool in the hands of political leaders.<sup>23</sup> The same conception is met with in *Avvenimento III* of the *Sei Giornate*,<sup>24</sup> where we have a pirate chief punishing a sub-captain for having offended Apollo of Delphi. It is doubtless due to the influence of Machiavellian doctrine.<sup>25</sup>

In the second chapter of *Discorso I*,<sup>26</sup> Machiavelli give a sketch of the development of the monarchy, its foundation by a strong man and its gradual decay under weak successors, until it is abolished through the efforts of the aristocracy. Erizzo takes over a part of this discussion to use it at the beginning of *Avvenimento XXI*.<sup>27</sup>

Machiavelli frequently emphasizes the danger which a prince runs when depriving his subjects of their wives, daughters and sisters in order to satisfy his own disorderly desires.<sup>28</sup> Erizzo expresses the same thought in some of the discourses of the *Sei Giornate*.<sup>29</sup>

However, it is not only the argumentation and the thoughts of the Florentine statesman which Erizzo adopts and inserts in his *Sei Giornate*; he also takes over the very expressions, vocabulary, similes and metaphors of Machiavelli.

The Florentine distinguishes two main forces which work to-

<sup>21</sup> *Opere*, III, 350.

<sup>22</sup> *Novellieri minori*, pp. 308 and 312.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Principe*, cap. XXI, p. 339; *Discorso I*, cap. XI-XIV (*Opere*, III, 269-281).

<sup>24</sup> *Novellieri minori*, p. 232.

<sup>25</sup> One of Erizzo's sources of the story, Livy, V, 28, is referred to by Machiavelli in *Discorso III*, cap. XXIX (*Opere*, IV, 225).

<sup>26</sup> *Opere*, III, 236.

<sup>27</sup> *Novellieri minori*, p. 329.

<sup>28</sup> *Principe*, cap. XVII, p. 293; cap. XIX, p. 309; *Discorso III* (*Opere*, IV, 218).

<sup>29</sup> *Novellieri minori*, pp. 305 and 330.



gether in the history of nations and of individuals: *virtù* and *fortuna*.<sup>30</sup> A prince may be indebted for his throne to either one of the two.<sup>31</sup> The same distinction between *virtù* and *fortuna* is found in the *Sei Giornate*.<sup>32</sup>

One of the vices of which Machiavelli warns the prince is the one which he calls *viltà* and which may be translated by cowardice, irresolution or inconsistency, qualities which cause him to be despised by his subjects and neighbors. Erizzo, likewise, mentions this vice as rather dangerous to princes.<sup>33</sup>

Machiavelli likes to compare the organism of a state with that of the human body, internal strife with physical diseases which affect the human organism, and the clever statesman with a good physician.<sup>34</sup> The novelist uses the same comparison in several places.<sup>35</sup>

The Florentine emphasizes the fact that princes must be on their guard in all their actions; for, he says, occupying a high position they are seen by all and judged accordingly.<sup>36</sup> In Erizzo we find again the comparison of a prince to a high tower.<sup>37</sup>

In concluding we may say that Erizzo knew at least the *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio* and the *Principe*, that, when writing the *Sei Giornate*, he took over entire passages from Machiavelli, incorporating them in his work, and that he was imbued with the spirit of Machiavelli's writings. These facts are, then, doubtless a new and convincing proof of the spiritual force and the popularity of what is generally called *Machiavellism*, during the *Cinquecento*.

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<sup>30</sup> Cf. L. Arthur Burd, op. cit., p. 178.

<sup>31</sup> *Principe*, cap. VI and VI.

<sup>32</sup> *Novellieri minori*, p. 330.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 305.

<sup>34</sup> *Discorso* II, cap. V (*Opere*, IV, 31); *Discorso* III, cap. I (*Opere*, IV, 127); cap. XLIX (*Opere*, IV, 267).

<sup>35</sup> *Novellieri minori*, pp. 283, 309, and 313.

<sup>36</sup> *Principe*, cap. XV, p. 284.

<sup>37</sup> *Novellieri minori*, p. 287.

## APPENDIX

In order to give an idea of the character of Erizzo's borrowings I put in parallel columns a few of the virtually identical passages dealing with conspiracies.

Erizzo, p. 325.

Déi adunque sapere che i pericoli che si corrono nelle congiure sono grandi e strabocchevoli, perchè per tutti i tempi ci soprastanno. Vi è pericolo nel trattarle, nel mandarle ad effetto, ed eseguite che sono.

Del primo pericolo del trattare la congiura non voglio che prendiamo sospetto, essendo noi dal tiranno ugualmente ambidui stati offesi; perchè, per vendicarsi dell'una e dell'altra ingiuria, di pari consentimento ci troviamo disposti.

Può mancare leggermente a chi eseguisce l'animo o per riverenza o per viltà della quale sia novamente soprapreso lo esecutore; perciocchè non è dubbio che la persona d'un principe rappresenta a sempre una certa maestà nella presenza, che inchina l'animo degli uomini a riverenza, la quale di leggieri può mitigare ogni duro proponimento e sbigottirlo.

Machiavelli, Opere, IV, 143.

I pericoli che si portano, come io dissi di sopra, nelle congiure sono grandi, portandosi per tutti i tempi, perchè in tali casi si corre pericolo nel maneggiarle, nello eseguirle, ed eseguite che sono.

Machiavelli, Opere, VI, 147.

Se misuri la fede dalla mala contentezza che uno abbia del principe, in questo tu ti puoi facilmente ingannare, perchè subito che tu hai manifestato a quel malcontento l'animo tuo, tu gli dai materia di contentarsi, e convien bene o che l'odio sia grande, a che l'autorità tua sia grandissima a mantenerlo in fede.

Machiavelli, Opere, IV, 155.

Manca l'animo a chi eseguisce, o per riverenza, o per propria viltà del l'esecutore. E tanta la maestà e la riverenza che si tira dietro la presenza d'un principe, ch'egli sbigottisca uno esecutore.

## PROFESSOR BÉDIER'S TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF THE *CHANSON DE ROLAND*

*La Chanson de Roland*, publiée d'après le manuscrit d'Oxford et traduite par Joseph Bédier, de l'Académie française, L'Édition d'Art, H. Piazza, 19, rue Bonaparte, Paris, 1922, 12mo, pp. xvii, 320.

In the fulness of time, after many years devoted to the exposition of a theory of the origin and development of the *chansons de geste* startlingly subversive of the theories of the scholars who had preceded him, Professor Bédier has at last, in the orderly progress of his epoch-making studies, reached the point of giving to the world the text and translation of what may be called a preliminary or tentative edition, at once scholarly and popular, of the greatest of the *chansons de geste*. In the meantime, M. Bédier, amidst many other fruitful activities, has been engaged in recent years in setting forth in his course at the Collège de France, and notably in the Introduction to his edition of the *Lai de l'ombre* (Société des anciens textes, 1911) and in vol. iii of his *Légendes épiques*, his views as to the best methods, theoretical and practical, to be employed in the critical constitution of Old-French texts. It may be said briefly in passing (since there is not space here to develop Professor Bédier's thesis) that the highly technical system of the classification of manuscripts and evaluation of variant readings so elaborately built up by Lachmann and his early imitators, has been definitely abandoned by M. Bédier. His principle, as applied to the edition at present under consideration, is expressed by him as follows (p. xiii):

"Je me suis cru en droit, entreprenant d'éditer la *Chanson de Roland*, de me conformer au précepte de l'archéologue Didron: 'Il faut, disait-il, conserver le plus possible, réparer le moins possible, ne restaurer à aucun prix.' Ce qu'il disait des vieilles pierres, il faut l'entendre aussi de nos beaux vieux textes."

Let no one suppose, however,—as some of M. Bédier's more intemperate followers have done,—apparently imagining themselves to be ensconced in a veritable fool's paradise,—that this conservative mode of procedure has eliminated from the delicate task of editing an Old-French text all necessity for critical acumen, by reducing the editor's duty to that of the mere palaeographer and copyist. Quite to the contrary. But let us scrutinize at once the methods of the present edition as explained by our author on pp. 303 *et seq.*, with a view to showing how sane and sensible in the main are his methods:

"J'ai adopté les mêmes procédés de transcription que les précédents éditeurs de la *Chanson de Roland*: j'ai résolu comme eux les abréviations, interprété comme eux les particularités relatives à la séparation ou à la liaison de certains mots, comme eux distingué le *v* de l'*u*, le *j* de l'*i*, introduit des majuscules, distribué des signes d'accentuation et de ponctuation, etc. Il serait difficile de rendre compte par le menu de ce travail. Ce serait inutile, d'ailleurs, puisque la photographie du manuscrit d'Oxford reste facilement accessible à chacun."<sup>1</sup>

Il suffit de signaler ici les quelques cas où j'ai recouru, pour interpréter la lettre du manuscrit, à des procédés qui demandent une explication.

<sup>1</sup> Many years ago I had the good fortune to pick up a copy of the *Photographische Wiedergabe der Hs. Digby 23*, . . . veranstaltet von Edmund Stengel, Heilbronn, 1878. It was the last copy I have ever seen offered for sale.

(a) Suivant l'usage des copistes anglo-français, le copiste du manuscrit d'Oxford a rendu le groupe *vr* par *uer* . . . Comme mes devanciers . . . j'ai écrit partout *vr*.

(b) Le copiste élide presque toujours, devant un mot commençant par une voyelle, l'*e* de la préposition *de* et du pronom *te*. . . J'ai pris le parti de les écarter (les exceptions). . . J'ai par trois fois, pour la commodité du lecteur moderne, . . . fait l'élision de la conjonction *se* contrairement au manuscrit, qui donne *se altre*, *se or*, *se il*. . . J'ai vingt fois élidé l'*e* de *que* contrairement à la lettre du manuscrit.

(c) Le nom du héros est le plus souvent écrit en abrégé . . . Je me suis résolu à l'écrire partout sous la forme *Rollant*.

(d) Parce que le copiste écrit indifféremment *cunquis* ou *conquis*, je ne me suis astreint (peut-être ai-je eu tort) à résoudre l'abréviation 9 d'une façon uniforme.

. . . Je suis intervenu le moins souvent que j'ai pu, et la plupart des critiques m'en feront reproche, je le sais. Je crains tout au contraire de n'avoir été que trop enclin à appeler 'fautes' maintes leçons que d'autres sauront peu à peu justifier, à mesure qu'on aura mieux étudié, dans les manuscrits du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle les particularités du français qui se parlait et s'écrivait en Angleterre autour du scribe d'Oxford. Je tiens de Quintilien un précepte excellent, et donc méconnu (de moi tout le premier): *In veteribus libris reperta mutare imperiti solent, et dum librarium insectari volunt inscientiam, suam confitentur.*" [The spirit of the present review is to emphasize the idea that the purpose of a critical edition of any posthumous work is to reproduce as accurately as possible the language of its author, in the form that would be most satisfactory to him.]

In order to exhibit, in addition to the classes of cases listed above, the number and extent of the changes introduced by M. Bédier—notwithstanding his modest disavowal—into the Oxford text of the *Chanson de Roland*, I consider it important to enumerate here, even at some risk of wearying the reader, a considerable number of the examples in point. My special object in doing so is to show by actual demonstration not only how well justified these changes are, but also, in further detail, how imperatively necessary it will be for M. Bédier to carry much further the work of conservative emendation so happily begun, in order to be consistent with himself and to commend to the scholarly public everywhere that

"autre édition, plus ample, aujourd'hui presque achevée, où l'on retrouvera le même texte que je propose dans celle-ci, mais accompagnée de pièces justificatives, notes critiques, glossaire, commentaire grammaticale (p. viii) . . . édition dont celle-ci est l'avant-courrière (p. xii).

The moment is an interesting and highly significant one. The most stately monument of the French language and literature—incomparable for the influence it has had on the other great literatures of the world—is about to be newly and adequately edited, translated, annotated and elucidated by the foremost specialist in the field of the Old-French *chansons de geste*.

Following is a partial list, illustrative of the conjectural emendations made in the Oxford text by Prof. Bédier:

Chares *changed* to Charles (l. 158); neu *changed* to nevuld (171); empere to emperere (214); blarcher to blancheier (261); en Espagne to espan (269); Vairs out to Vairs out les oeilz (283); contrire to contraire (290); degerie to de legerie (300); nerc s. guariz to n'ert guariz (354); messag to messages (367); e duc to e cil duc (378); devant l'empereur to devant Marsiliun (414); Tant to Tuit (451); E Guenes l'ad pris to Guenelon prist (509); Tanz a pris to Tanz colps ad pris (526); Carll' ne cre crent to Carles ne crent (562); Qu'il en France to Qu'il ert en France (726); Anpres to Apres (774); les desers to les destréiz

(805); de .xv. lius to de .xv. liues (817); lerembret to lur remembret (820); angl'e to angele (836); Guens to Guenes (844); entre quascas marine to entre qu'as Cazmarine (956); li .xii. s'alien to li .xii. per s'alien (990); Fier de lance to Fier de la lance (1120); suef pas tenant to suef, le pas tenant (1165); Abirum to Balbiun (1215); E sesescriet to E si escriet (1221); le altres to les altres (1237); li arcuesques to li arcevesques (1243); que voiellet hair to que tant voiellet hair (1244); Guardet arere to Guardet a tere (1251); E Gerins to Engellers (1261); li ment to li met (1271); a flurs e ad or to ad or e a flurs (1276); e l'osberc e brace to e l'osberc e la brace (1343); lespalles to les espalles (1344); e bronie safree to e la bronie safree (1372); Malvais servis to Malvais servise (1406); a millere to a millers (1417); seint Michel de paris to seint Michel del Peril (1428); tresqu'as de Guitsand to tresqu'al port de Guitsand (1429); lacent cil elme to Luisent cil elme (1452); Sarraz me to Sarrazin me (1484); s'espee to sun helme (1531); Dient paient to Dient paien (1590); le herbe to l'herbe (1612); tint valeri e to tint Valence e (1626); La labaille est meilleuse to La bataille est merveilleuse (1653); Trent cez poinz to Trenchent cez poinz (1655); Munt grant to Mult grant (1679); la vemes to la veimes (1731); Enfuerunt to Enfuerunt nos (1750), *one line above, the scribe spells this pronoun nus*; est il nient to est nient (1770); caignes to cataignes (1850); barunt to barun (1889); Que recoistre to Que reconoistre (1993); al tere to a la tere (2013).

To economize time and space I halt midway of the poem, in this record of emendations. They are all certainly to be commended. Possibly Prof. Bédier himself was scarcely aware, when he set out on his notable task, how formidable would be the enumerated list of his conjectures. But as we presently shall see, this imposing array of corrections by no means exhausts the list of similar cases that cry aloud for emendation. Holding ourselves strictly within the limits suggested by Prof. Bédier's own method of procedure, we find ourselves, by way of illustration, confronted with the following situation: As appears early in the course of the poem, the inept Oxford scribe—either, no doubt, because he was little acquainted, as a copyist, with the customary use of the *tilde* over a vowel to indicate a succeeding nasal, or perhaps because he was simply negligent in reproducing the *tilde* (as well as, in the first following example, in using a simple *p* for *p barré*)—writes *Li eperes* (l. 16) for *Li empereres*; *derupet* (19) for *derumpet*; *enveius* (42) for *enveius*; *puig* (415) for *puign*; *gentemet* (2099) for *gentement*; *demet* (3010) for *demente*. Since Prof. Bédier has himself made all of these corrections, is it not rather by oversight than by intention that he prints (57) the MS. reading *trecher* for *trencher*?

De nos ostages ferat *trecher* les testes;

or *estrage* (1236) for *estrange*?

Barbarins est, d'un *estrage* païs;

or *flabur* (1809) for *flambur*?

Osbercs e helmes i getent grant *flabur*;

or *se ist* (2260) for *s'en ist*?

Par les oreilles fors *se ist* la cervel

(cf. *Fors s'en eissirent*, l. 1776; and correct also *la cervel* to *li cervel*, since the word here stands in a masculine assonance, and the scribe makes the same dis-

tion of gender between *cervel* and *cervelle* as is made in Mod. French, cf. ll. 1356 and 1764); or *eperere* (2846) for *emperere*?

Esveilleez est li *eperere* Carles;

or *esembl'* (3286) for *ensembl'*?

Cil d'Ociant ierent *esembl'* ot mei.

Examples of many sorts of such uncorrected blunders might be adduced; but most insistent of all are the constantly occurring ones involving a faulty *measure* of the verse—cases in which, in the eloquent words of M. Bédier:

"Privée de la forte cadence des décasyllabes et de la sonorité des belles assonances, la strophe du vieux trouvère n'est qu'un moulin sans eau (p. xiv)."

To be sure, M. Bédier is here speaking of the inadequacy of a prose rendering. Yet how much more serious is the pain inflicted by being compelled to read a great French epic in the broken, halting, distressful measure negligently imposed upon it by a belated, untutored Anglo-Norman scribe. Would that the lovers of poetry in all lands—and of the *Chanson de Roland* in particular—might by the urgent persuasiveness of their united appeals prevail on the editor of the forthcoming definitive edition to modify the plan of the work in this all-important respect. When it becomes a question of the systematic disregard of the Old-French poetic rhythm, on the implied plea that at a period later than the composition of the poem the Anglo-Normans—for whom it was not intended—became unresponsive to the beauties of the continental French poetic structure which are so charmingly exemplified and abundantly (if somewhat cryptically) attested in the Oxford manuscript, the situation is one that calls for an earnest reappraisal of literary values.

Having brilliantly and successfully won his battle for the recognition of the unity, integrity and authority of the unique manuscript of the *Chanson de Roland*, it may be feared that M. Bédier is in danger of forgetting that, with the exception of the "cinquantaine" (p. ix) of difficult lines that may still continue to cause perplexity, the blunders of the Oxford scribe are as transparent as the noonday sunlight, and offer no sufficient excuse for wishing to overlook or blink them. When, for example, we read in the Oxford facsimile and in Prof. Bédier's text (730):

D'enz de sale uns veltres avalat

we may be just as sure that the author wrote:

D'enz de la sale uns veltres avalat,

as Prof. Bédier appears to be certain, on reading in the Oxford facsimile (1343):

Sanglant en ad e l'osberc e brace

that the author really wrote:

Sanglant en ad e l'osberc e la brace.

All the same, the experience of the reader, whether simple or sophisticated, in

stumbling over *D'ens de sale*, is neither pleasing nor edifying. In line 827 the same situation exists:

.xx. milie Francs unt en la lur cumpaigne.

At verse 714, the reader again must stumble in the first hemistich:

*En un bruill par sum les puis remestrent.*

The Old-French scholar, who knows that the author must have written *Ens en un bruill* (cf. ll. 93, 501, 510, 1266, 1331), will have time to reflect that, at least for the enjoyment of poetry (and what else is poetry for?), "knowledge is a vain thing."

Once only the scribe has used the Anglo-Norman spelling for *ferai* (Einz i *frai*, 300). Why should the reader be made to stumble?

Since we find, in the language of the scribe (1265):

L'osberc li rumpt *entresque* a la charn,

would it be too violent, in verse 685, to read

Ki l'en conduistrent *entresque* en la mer,

instead of the scribe's blundering "*tresque* en la mer"?

Why be made to stumble in the second hemistich of 3452?

Quant Naimun veit nafret *devant sei*,

when ll. 2181 and 2300 have *dedevant vos* and *dedevant lui*?

Or why must we stumble at

Guardet a la tere, veit sun nevod gesir (2885),

when 9 lines below (2894), the scribe writes correctly,

Guardet a tere, veit gesir sun nevuld.<sup>2</sup>

In line 731,

Que vint a Carles lé galops e les salz,

the reader, of whatever category, would no doubt prefer to take the first of his definite articles, like the second, in an unobtrusive and undiacriticized spelling, knowing that such erudite matters may well be left to the uncovenanted mercies of the philologists, and will be found duly ticketed in the Notes.

At line 602, is it a mere inconclusive guess that

Puis si cumencet a *venir* ses tresors

should read

Puis si cumencet a *uvrir* ses tresors?

<sup>2</sup> Unless, as is quite possible, in the language of the author the final *t* of *Guardet* is treated as silent in 2885, but as still persistent in 2894. This, it seems to me, is a question for the editor to decide, not one to be left for the reader to puzzle over. If the editor concludes that the *t* is silent in 2885, then he will do well to suppress it in his text. The case is a typical one as affecting the proper function of an editor of the *Chanson de Roland*, and arises many times over. It was occurrences of this kind that induced Gaston Paris to infer that at the period of the composition of the poem this final *t* was hovering between survival and extinction—a state of affairs which he indicated graphically by using in his *Extraits*, a dot subscript to mark the "*t* caduc." Serious students of the poem are always interested on having this explanation made to them.

In a case like this, would it not be better to read *uvrir* in the first place, and then, in the Notes, regale the reader as much as one likes on the relative merits of the MS. and the emendation?

It seems impossible to determine from the manuscript whether the scribe writes *sauie* or *sauve*. At the first occurrence of the word (l. 20), Prof. Bédier prints *sauie*, but on the same page (l. 24), and always elsewhere, *sauve*. It would appear preferable to print everywhere *sauie*.

If we compare ll. 407 and 609:

Un faldestoet *out* suz l'umbre d'un pin,  
Un faldestoed *i out* d'un olifant,

with l. 115:

Un faldestoed *i unt*, fait tut d'or mer,

it will be natural to print, l. 115:

Un faldestoed *i out*, fait tut d'or mer.

Since line 216 is the only one that violates the nasal assonance in a laisse of 16 lines, and since, in line 1276, for the sake of the assonance, M. Bédier transposes *Ki est a flurs e ad or* to *Ki est ad or e a flurs*, he will be inclined, for consistency, to transpose the words of line 216 so as to read:

Ne ben ne mal sun ne vult ne *respunt*.

Since line 474 is the only one that violates the assonance in a laisse of 17 lines, he will be inclined to transpose the words of that line to read:

Mult *i avrez* orguillos parçuner.

Since, in l. 3708, the word *damisele* violates both the meter and the assonance while the word *dame* would preserve both, and since in l. 290 *contrire* has been changed to *contraire* to conform to the assonance, it would be consistent in l. 3708 to read:

As li venue Alde, une bele *dame*.

Since *se* is the Oxford scribe's form, as well as the regular Old-French form, for the conjunction 'if,' it would seem better to read:

423, Par lui orrez *s'i* avrez pais u nun,  
3169, N'i ad Franceis, *s'i* a lui vient juster,  
3557, Dites, baron, por Deu, *s'i* m'aidez.<sup>3</sup>

It will be observed that in these various suggestions the attention has been confined to the very simplest cases, which fall in line with the emendations already introduced by Prof. Bédier. Most of them, it is true, involve a readjustment of either the measure or the assonance. Here perhaps Prof. Bédier would entirely disavow the meter, the case-forms and the verb-forms as criteria or tests of the correctness of the verse. If so, I cannot refrain from taking issue. To my mind the Oxford text of the *Chanson de Roland* gives conclusive

<sup>3</sup> Apropos of the adverb *i* (Mod.-French *y*) may I take advantage of a footnote to ask the opinion of scholars whether this word—which by some has been referred to *ibi* and by others to *hic*—is not to be derived from *ibi* when it means 'there' and from *hic* when it means 'here'; similarly, *en* would come from *hinc* when it means 'hence' and from *inde* when it means 'thence': *Je m'en vais* (*HINC VADO*), *tu t'en vas* (*INDE VADIS*).



evidence that the author was not only a consummate poet in the larger sense, but also an expert in the use of literary French and an accurate versifier in every detail of his art. Is it or is it not the purpose of an editor to reproduce, wherever possible, the language of his author? Can any one doubt the answer? Yet Prof. Bédier seems to support the negative proposition.

The question of the case-forms is, as intimated above, far less important. Here, almost the only blunders perpetrated by the scribe—or, if one prefers, almost the only examples of the Anglo-Norman substitution of accusatives for nominatives—occur in connection with second declension nouns and adjectives employed as predicates (the rule of the *s*). The author's careful use of the more intricate third declension (nouns with increment and displacement of stress: *quens*, *conte*; *ber*, *barun*) is in most instances faithfully reflected by the scribe. But suppose we consider for a moment an editor's possible duty towards the question of the case-forms. Let us compare, for example, ll. 618 and 1562:

618. Atant i vint uns paiens, Valdabruns,  
1562. D'autre part est un paien, Valdabrun.

Is there any reasonable doubt that in line 618 the scribe has copied accurately the case-forms used by the author, while in line 1562 he has allowed himself to fall into the later case-obliteration of his own time? Suppose the modern editor has the temerity to make the case-obliteration of 1562 conform to the case-discrimination of 618, is there any *manque de piété* (p. xii) in that? ["Ne devons-nous pas toute piété à notre langue, telle qu'elle se parlait dans les seigneuries normandes et angevines d'Angleterre?"] And how about the question of the *manque de piété* to the unknown author, whose paramount interests in the matter can be represented solely by his editors.

For one or two examples of the author's regularity as preserved by the scribe, compare

285. Tant par fut bels tuit si per l'en esguardent,  
297. Tu n'ies mes hom ne jo ne sui tis sire.

One interesting phase of the constitution of the text is that in several instances, to judge from the face-to-face translation, Prof. Bédier had it in mind to make textual changes that, probably by oversight, were not introduced. Thus:

1306. Sun fort escut par mi le cors li mist

(where the scribe has inadvertently substituted *escut* for *espier*) is translated:

"à travers le corps lui met son fort épieu."

1249. Empeint le ben, que mort [*i.e.*, molt] le fait brandir

is translated: "il appuie fortement, le secoue et l'ébranle."

3212. Ço est de la tere ki fut al rei Flurit

*A itel ore . . .*

is translated: "la terre qui appartenait alors au roi Flori," as if the italicized words were *A icel ore* (which Prof. Bédier probably intended to print).

At l. 3269 the manuscript has *Des Canelins*. Prof. Bédier, following Venice,<sup>4</sup> translates: "*Dis Chananéens*."

As to the merits and charm of the translation in general there is naturally little need to speak. It would be a pleasure alike to the reviewer and to his readers if there were space to cite many striking examples. One happy turn in particular deserves to be signalized. So far as I am aware the expression *Terre Majur* (600, 818, 952, 1532, 1659) has not been before rendered by *Terre des Aïeux* (TERRA MAJORUM). Presumably this interpretation is original with Prof. Bédier. It is certainly most felicitous, and makes an important contribution to the vocabulary of the *Chanson de Roland*.<sup>4</sup>—To certain other renderings exception may perhaps be taken. M. Bédier (together apparently with all the commentators) understands the phrase *Par num d'ocire* (43, 149, etc.) to mean 'dût-il périr.' Is it not rather a colloquial form of asseveration, 'as sure as killing,' 'as sure as death'?

1015. Malvaïse essample n'en serat ja de mei,  
"Jamais mauvais *exemple* ne viendra de moi."

Rather: "Jamais mauvaise *histoire* ne sera racontée à mon sujet." (For a similar sentiment cf. 1063, 1076.) In

3979. Tant ad oit e sermun e *essample*,

which is translated: "Elle a entendu tant de sermons et de *paraboles*, the meaning is more nearly brought out.

1104. Veeir poez dolente (est la) reregarde;  
*Ki ceste fait, jamais n'en ferat altre:*  
"Qui aura fait aujourd'hui l'arrière-garde  
N'en fera jamais une autre."

*Ceste* I take to be here a feminine-neuter pronoun, not referring directly to *reregarde*.

2364. Cleimet sa culpe e *menut e suvent*  
"A *faibles* coups e souvent, il bat sa coulpe."

*Menut* here reinforces *suvent*. Cf.:

1426. *Chiedent i fuidres* e *menut e suvent*;

and also *Aiol* 302:

E souvent et menu *grans cos* feres.

Line 443. . . mist la main a l'espee,  
Cuntre dous deïe l'ad del furrel getee,

is translated: "Il met la main a son épée. Il l'a tirée du fourreau la *longueur* de deux doigts."—Not the *longueur* but the *largew* of two fingers.

It remains to point out, for the benefit of another edition, the comparatively small number of those typographical errors against which, in such a work, it is always so difficult to contend successfully:

<sup>4</sup> Since copy for this article was sent to the printer, I have had the happy chance to encounter in vol. xii (1921) of G. Hanotaux' *Histoire de la nation française*, in Prof. Bédier's chapter of the "Histoire des Lettres," the following passage: "'France l'absolue,' c'est-à-dire la sainte 'Terre Majour,' c'est-à-dire *terra majorum*, c'est-à-dire patrie."

Page x, 4 lines from below: Pour *qu'on qu'on* puisse.

Page xii, 6 lines from below: Gilie e fist la chartre, read Gilie . . . e fist la chartre.

Page xvi, middle: *efforts sprituels*.

Line 89 of the poem, misnumbered 90.

Line 1145 of the poem, misnumbered 1445.

Line 3620 of the poem, misnumbered 2620.

L. 811, for *seient*. VII. read *seient* .VII.; l. 1078, for *et* read *e*; l. 2194, for *beneicun* read *beneiçun*; l. 2427, for *ne* read *de*; l. 3352 for large initial C read large initial L; l. 3975, for large initial O read large initial Q; p. 311, l. 8, for *f° 40° v°* read *f° 40 v°*; p. 317, 2 lines from below, for 3948 (out of *proper* order) read 3848.

With how great an interest will all lovers of Old-French await the elaborated and documented edition of the *Chanson de Roland* which M. Bédier has in store for us. He may be sure that it will be received everywhere with the most enthusiastic appreciation.

H. A. T.

## NOTES AND NEWS

To most of the readers of the above not untimely but very inadequate review, it will be no news that Prof. Joseph Bédier, together with his highly esteemed compatriots, Prof. Paul Hazard, Dr. Bernard Faÿ, Prof. Edouard LeRoy and Prof. Emile Bourgeois, have been secured to give courses of lectures at the coming summer session of Columbia University. The editors of the ROMANIC REVIEW, on behalf of themselves and of all who have looked forward so eagerly to the privileges offered by this fortunate consummation, desire to express to these distinguished visiting professors a most cordial and grateful welcome. The same warmth of greeting is extended to the widely honored Italian publicist, Prof. Giuseppe Prezzolini, who will lecture on the literature and civilization of his native country.

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<p style="text-align: center;"><i>From the Educational Review</i> <i>November, 1922</i></p> <p><b>BOVÉE'S</b></p> <p>Première Année de Français</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">“Teachers of French have been waiting for this book with impatience. They have wanted a grammar treating pronunciation practically, as an integral part of each lesson, not as a separate science to be learned at the beginning and seldom applied afterward. Mr. Bovée uses phonetics with common sense and authority and drives his points home by means of varied and ingenious repetitions.”</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>GINN AND COMPANY</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Boston</p> <p style="text-align: center;">New York</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chicago</p> <p style="text-align: center;">London</p>
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# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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## THE HEPTAMÉRON DES NOUVELLES OF MARGUERITE DE NAVARRE: A STUDY OF NOUVELLES

28, 34, 52 AND 62

MARGUERITE of Navarre, the amiable mother of the Renaissance, as Michelet calls her, informs us in the prologue to her collection of tales, the *Heptameron*, that it was to contain nothing that was not a true history: *c'est de n'escrire nulle nouvelle qui ne soit veritable histoire*. This feature was to be its most important difference with Marguerite's model, the *Decameron* of Boccaccio. A few lines farther along in the prologue this assertion is reiterated but in a form which is less positive and more vague and which has a familiar ring to it: *dira chascun quelque histoire qu'il aura veue ou bien oy dire a quelque homme digne de foy*. The dedicatory letter of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, without approximating the language of the assertion of the Queen of Navarre, sets before us much the same intention: Et pour ce que les cas descriptz et racomptez ou dit livres de Cent Nouvelles<sup>1</sup> advindrent la plupart ès marches et metes d'Ytalie, jà longtemps a, neantmoins toutesfoiz, portant et retenant nom de nouvelles, se peut trèsbien et par raison fondée en assez apparente verité ce present livre intituler de Cent Nouvelles nouvelles, jà soit ce que advenues soient ès parties de France, d'Alemaigne, d'Angleterre, de Haynau, de Brabant et aultres lieux; aussi pource que l'estoffe, taille et fasson d'icelles est d'assez fresche memoire et de myne beaucoup nouvelle.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Decameron*.

<sup>2</sup> The same idea is repeated in connection with many of the single tales: la chose est si fraiche et si nouvellement advenue que je n'y puis ni tailler, ni rogner, ni mettre, ni ôter; or—l'histoire n'est pas moins vraie que l'Evangile—connue de plusieurs notables gens, dignes de foi. These are in most cases mere formulas which are frequently paralleled in tales of the *Heptameron* and in the collection of Philippe de Vigneulles.

A striking parallel to Marguerite's statement as to the veracity of her *nouvelles* is to be found in the prologue of a little known and unedited collection of one hundred French tales which was completed in 1515 and is the work of Philippe de Vigneulles, a hosier of Metz. Philippe after vouching for the truth of the tales of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, his avowed model, puts forward the claim that the tales which he is about to tell have actually taken place. The passage is an interesting one because it seems to indicate that Philippe's contemporaries discussed the veracity of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* at a time (1515) when that work in various editions must have been attracting the attention of the reading public. It also adds a detail to the slight frame of the stories of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, if we may place any credence in what Philippe tells us and if he is not merely elaborating on the preface of the Verard editions. The stories were told by *gentilshommes* while in garrison and during the truces and were noted down by a "vaillant acteur." If such was really the case, we may observe that the crudeness of the stories well befits the circumstances of the telling. I quote the passage in full as it stands in the manuscript:

En icelluy temps et durant les trèves qui estoient pour l'heure, les gentilz hommes estant en garnison contrayrent \* plusieurs bonnes histoires et adventures advenues par deça et ez marches durant leur temps lesquelles histoires ung vaillant acteur en ait recueilliez cent et en ait faict et composé ung livre le quel se nomme et l'a intitulé les *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*. Et pour ce à propos, moy Philippe de Vigneulle, marchans de drap et simple d'entendement, considerant que beaucop de simples gens dient comme j'ay dict dessus qu'on ne les doit pas croire, à quoy je respons et dis qu'on peut croire que possible est esté advenus; et peut-on croire toutes choses qui ne sont contraires à Dieu ne à sa foy, non pas, comme j'ay dit devant, pour en user mal mais affin d'en retenir le bien se aucun en y a, et fuyr et eviter le mal et le dangier et se garder d'encheoir en paille inconvenient. Et aussi doncques considerant leur folle oppinion et en monstrant que on n'ait dit ni faict chose du passez qui semblable ne se puisse aujourd'huy faire ou dire, je Philippe dessus nommez, relevez d'une grande maladie que j'eus en l'an mil cinqz cens et cinqz et en maniere de passetemps et attendant santé, car de mes membres ne me povoie encore bien aidier pour ouvrer ne besongner, je me mis lors à escrire plusieurs adventures advenues la plupart

\* An evident error for contèrent or probably comptèrent; cf. below p. 15, racompèrent.



tant à la noble cité de Mets comme au pays environ, comme moy mesme en a sceu et veu la plus grande partie ou du moins je les ouy dire et raconter à gens dignes de foy et de creance.

Note the close textual resemblance between this closing statement and that of Marguerite above. Philippe continues in his long-winded fashion to protest that his own tales and those of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* actually happened. He would have done us a great favor if he had been a little more explicit about the "vaillant acteur" of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* and given us his name. Many pages of paper and much ink would have been spared concerning the authorship.<sup>4</sup>

It is a well-known fact that the tale tellers of the Renaissance liked to pass off their tales which are largely traditional, as having actually happened during their life-time. The sources of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* have been studied<sup>5</sup> in detail and it appears that they have to do largely with the "matériel roulant" of medieval lore. Of this fact the author could scarcely have been in ignorance. The tale-book of Philippe de Vigneulles is mainly a tissue of old themes. Many of his tales, as is the case with the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, only repeat the old fabliaux and the time-worn subjects of the Italian *novelle*. There are but few traits of originality in his work in so far as invention of subject material is concerned. Philippe must have consciously sought out his tales and then disguised them with a few touches of realism and the local color of his adopted city, Metz. In the case of one tale<sup>6</sup> he assures us quite naively that the same incident is found in the *Decameron* but that he did not get his theme from it, for it depicted an actual happening. The story concerned is no less than the famous one represented in the *Decameron*, Day VII, Novel 9, and in Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale*. The fact that Philippe's sources must have been in large part oral

<sup>4</sup> Cf. G. Doutrepoint, *La Littérature Française à la Cour des Ducs de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1909 (*Bibl. du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol. VIII), p. 340, note 1, for a bibliography of the question.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. G. Doutrepoint, *ed. cit.*, p. 343, for a bibliography. The most recent and most thorough work is W. Küchler, *Die Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der französischen Novelle*, in *Zeitschrift für franz. Sprache und Literatur*, XXX (1906), pp. 264-331.

<sup>6</sup> Nouvelle 93: Et j'aiçoit ce que une telle ou semblable nouvelle soit ou livre des centz nouvelles florentines, si est cest cy veritable et en advint comme vous en aves ouy.



could hardly have deceived him as to their truth and his *je les ouy dire et raconter à gens dignes de foy et creance* is merely a vague formula of the sort which we see repeated in almost the same language in the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* and in the prologue and elsewhere in the *Heptameron*. The author of the *Comptes du Monde Aventureux* (1555) affirms the veracity of his tales in emphatic fashion and this preoccupation becomes even more pronounced in later tale-tellers. It is of prime importance for Boaistuau and Belleforest who translated and elaborated tales of Bandello. Belleforest in one passage claims to have documentary evidence that the tales are real happenings. Referring to this general characteristic of *conteurs* and *romanciers* of the 16th century Reynier says in the *Roman Sentimental Avant l'Astrée*, Paris, 1908, p. 273: Presque tous ont eu le même souci de ne raconter que des histoires contemporaines et la même prétention de les faire passer pour véritables—Il ne suffit pas que les sujets soient français et modernes; il faut encore qu'ils aient sinon un fondement réel, au moins les apparences de la vérité; il y a là évidemment une intéressante préoccupation de réalisme." As a matter of fact this tendency merely represents an exaggeration of the methods of the Italian tale-tellers.

It has been pointed out by recent editors of the *Heptameron* that there is more of historical happening and reality about it than in the case of either the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* or the *Nouvelles Récréations et Joyeux Devis*, attributed to Bonaventure des Periers. The identification of the "devisants" has been accomplished with considerable plausibility by M. Félix Frank.<sup>7</sup> A number of the stories concern historical incidents in which Marguerite, Francis I, and Marguerite's mother took part or involve events of which the dates are known. But the fact remains that a goodly number of the tales are merely old themes disguised or embellished. Gaston Paris<sup>8</sup> believed that Marguerite may have been sincere in her as-

<sup>7</sup> *Heptaméron de la Reine de Navarre*, ed. by Félix Frank, Paris, Lisieux, 1879, 3 volumes, cf. vol. 1, lxix.

<sup>8</sup> *Journal des Savants*, 1895, p. 344: *Mélanges de Littérature Française du Moyen Âge*, published by Mario-Roques, Part II, chapter on the *Heptameron* in article on the *Nouvelle Française*: "Je crois qu'il faut ajouter foi à cette déclaration de la reine de Navarre, non pas en ce sens que toutes les histoires de l'Heptameron sont vraies, mais en ce sens que celles dont elle n'a pas été acteur, témoin ou confidente, elle les a entendu raconter comme vraies et elle a pu les croire vraies. Aucune n'est prise sciemment dans un livre."

sertion as to the veracity of her tales. Admitting that much traditional novelistic material is to be found in the *Heptameron*, it is not, however, necessary to think, says Gaston Paris, that it may not have been derived by Marguerite from independent and oral sources and that she may not have believed it to be true.

Pietro Toldo (cf. footnote 25) has done much toward discounting the exaggerated ideas of certain editors as to the historical fact and reality of many of the tales of the *Heptameron*. If Toldo has not pointed out actual sources, in many of the cases, nevertheless the analogies he suggests are usually strong enough to convince us of the traditional elements in the tales. A survey of such sources and analogues in the case of the *Heptameron* shows indeed that Marguerite made use of some very common and well-known themes, among others, some found in the *Facetiae* of Poggio Bracciolini, which had been translated into French as early as 1509, in the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, which had gone through numerous editions after the first in 1485, and even in the *Decameron* which was newly translated in 1545 at her own request. The fact that Marguerite had attributed such stories to real and historical personages was not an innovation. Boccaccio employed this method as did many of his imitators and the use of this trick in modern tale-telling is ample proof of its being a psychological generality. It merely means that when Marguerite says, "Je vous alleguerai ce qui advint, il n'y a trois ans," or "J'en dirai une d'un personnage qui etait bien de mes amis," that we may expect to find some well-known *conte* in disguise. If Marguerite admits that her 70th tale by way of exception treats a well-known old theme,<sup>9</sup> she is but furthering the illusion of reality in the case of others of her tales. Contrary to the opinion of Gaston Paris we cannot but believe that Marguerite consciously chose those traditional themes and subjects which she knew had no historical foundation, mingling with them real occurrences and attributing them to contemporary personages.<sup>10</sup>

We have abundant evidence that the reading and telling of

<sup>9</sup> *The Châtelaine de Vergy*.

<sup>10</sup> Brantôme borrows stories from Rabelais, des Periers and the *Heptameron* and incorporates them in his work, especially *Les Dames Galantes*. He endeavors to cover up the thefts by judicious alterations and sometimes claims to have seen or heard of the happening; *j'ai ouy conter* or *j'ai vu* are frequent locutions of his; cf. Brantôme ed. Lalanne, pp. 353 ff.

stories was a favorite diversion at the court of Navarre to which many wits and literary lights of the time were welcomed by the Queen. Bonaventure des Periers, to whom we owe at least a part of the *Nouvelles Récréations et Joyeux Devis*, was for years an official member of Marguerite's household. Both Jacques Pelletier and Nicolas Denisot, who enjoyed a certain reputation as tale-tellers and to whom collaboration in and even authorship of the *Nouvelles Récréations et Joyeux Devis* have been ascribed by contemporaries,<sup>11</sup> also frequented Marguerite's court for a time. Félix Frank maintains with considerable plausibility that the author of the *Comptes du Monde Aventureux* (1555) was also a member of this circle: "Par ces tendances comme par sa forme littéraire, ce recueil appartient bien au petit cercle des contes de la reine de Navarre et la personnalité d'Antoine de Saint Denis s'y encadre sans difficulté." In the group also were Claude Gruget to whom we owe the first approximately faithful edition of the *Heptameron* and Antoine Le Maçon whose translation of the *Decameron* in 1545 was made at Marguerite's request. Her passion for this work is amply attested and Brantôme<sup>12</sup> alludes to her habit of reading it aloud to her brother Francis I. If we are to believe some of the recent editors, the "dame du sang royal accompagnée d'honneur, de vertu, et de beauté et qui sçavoit bien dire ung conte et de bon grace, et en rire aussy quand on luy en disoit quelqu'un"<sup>13</sup> is Marguerite herself and the story telling party there depicted was probably an incident of ordinary occurrence in Marguerite's entourage. In fact we are told that Marguerite's interest in stories was so great and her skill in writing them was so well known at court that "la reine mère et Madame de Savoie estant jeunes se voulurent mesler d'en escrire des nouvelles à part à l'imitation de la reine de Navarre, sçachant bien qu'elle en faisoit mais quand elles eurent veu les siennes, elles eurent si grand despit des leurs qui n'approchoient nullement des autres qu'elles les jetèrent dans le feu et ne les voulurent mettre en lumière."<sup>14</sup> The chances are then that there must have been a considerable répertoire of tales of all sorts passing back and forth at

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Arthur Tilley, *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1904, vol. I, Appendix B, pp. 259-261, for a discussion of the case.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Brantôme, *Oeuvres*, ed. Lalanne, VIII, p. 114 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Heptameron*, nouvelle 62; and below pp. 11 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Brantôme, loc. cit.

the court of Navarre. Marguerite's sources for her traditional tales may then have been mainly oral, but even so we can hardly admit that she herself believed in the truth of all of them.

In spite of Toldo's work on the sources and analogues of the *Heptameron*, there still remains some research to be done in regard to certain of the tales, among them some which are considered as relating to actual happenings during the life of Marguerite. Where no sources or analogues have been suggested, the tendency is to regard the tales as being founded on real occurrences. We have found no sources nor close analogues indicated for *Nouvelles* 28, 34, 52 and 62 and it is about them that we wish to speak in particular. All these tales were originally contained in the *Heptameron*, as a comparison between early editions and the manuscripts shows.<sup>15</sup> In the case of the four tales, here discussed, we believe that the analogues, if not sources, which we shall suggest are close enough to carry the conviction that they embody traditional elements and that no foundation of fact can be attributed to them.

In connection with *Nouvelles* 28, 52 and 62, we publish three unedited tales of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* of Philippe de Vigneulles,<sup>16</sup> a hosier of Metz, to whom reference has already been made. In a forthcoming article to be published in the *Revue du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, we deal at considerable length with this little known *conteur* whose tale collection dating from 1515 supplies us with an

<sup>15</sup> The early editions of the *Heptameron* omitted some of the original tales and inserted spurious ones; Le Roux de Lincy in his edition of the *Heptameron* of 1853 was the first to study the manuscripts and restore the order and authenticity of certain tales.

<sup>16</sup> There are numerous 19th century references to this collection of tales, among others: C. Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der Altfranzösischen Literatur*, Halle, 1913, p. 499; Arthur Tilley, *ed. cit.*, I, p. 100, note 2; Gaston Paris, *Esquisse Historique de la Littérature Française du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1907, pp. 251-252; and *Mélanges de Littérature Française du Moyen Age*, Part II, p. 628, 637; H. Michelant, *Gedenkbuch des Metzser Bürgers Philippe von Vigneulles*, Stuttgart, 1852, pp. xxvi-xxviii; H. Morf, *Geschichte der Französischen Literatur im Zeitalter der Renaissance*, Strassburg, 1914, p. 28; Théodore de Puymaigre, *Poètes et Romanciers de la Lorraine*, Metz, 1848, where a chapter is devoted to Philippe de Vigneulles. Gaston Paris in his *Extraits des Poètes et Prosateurs du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1907, p. 147, gives a modern rendering of Philippe's very original version of the *Laitière et le Pot au Lait*, found in *Nouvelle* 91. Rabelais (*Gargantua*, I, 33) speaks of a cobbler who, dreaming of becoming rich, broke his pot of milk and went without dinner. This version of the well-known theme, sketchy as it is, vaguely suggests Philippe's tale.

interesting date in literary history. Some years ago we had the good fortune to locate and acquire the unique manuscript of these tales, a document whose existence had been attested down through the centuries, and which came to light and then mysteriously disappeared again about seventy-five years ago. In the article referred to, we have tried to point out the general resemblance between the tale-books of Bonaventure des Periers and Philippe de Vigneulles and then have indicated a close correspondence between several tales of the two collections in order to point out the possibility of Philippe's stories having been known to Bonaventure des Periers and the *conteurs* of the group of the Queen of Navarre. The three tales here published will, we believe, further suggest that possibility.

It is true that the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* of the hosier of Metz have remained unedited to this day but such was the case until comparatively recently of numerous early tale collections, for example, those of Sacchetti, Sermini, Sercambi, Grazzini and others who were probably known in their day by the circulation of their manuscripts. In fact we do not find authors of tales during the Renaissance particularly anxious to see their works in print. The *recueils* of both Marguerite de Navarre and Bonaventure des Periers were not published until some years after their death. That of Nicholas de Troyes, the saddler of Champagne, is still in large part unedited. More than one collection, probably well known in its time from the manuscripts, has disappeared before being published, while of others only fragments remain. Thus we know that a tale-book, the *Fiori di Novelle* of Francesco da Barberino (1264-1348) has perished without leaving a trace. Doni<sup>17</sup> informs us that a book of 100 tales by Burchiello disappeared in this way. We learn from contemporary sources<sup>18</sup> that a lady of Padua, Giulia Bigolina, wrote many tales in prose in imitation of those of the *Decameron* and that all have been lost. Only small portions of the novelistic works of Molza and Parabosco have come down to us while Cadamosto himself speaks of the loss of many of his tales during the sack of Rome.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Burchiello. *Rime commentate dal Doni*, Venice, 1553, p. 54.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Scardeone, *De antiquitate urbis Patavi et claris civibus Patavinis*, Basileae, 1560, p. 368; Anton-Maria Borromeo, *Notizia de' Novellieri Italiani*, Bassano, 1794, pp. 6 and 118.

It is not then surprising that Philippe's tales went unpublished in his day. The strange thing is that they have survived in manuscript down to the present time. We have evidence to show that several manuscripts of his tales were extant in the seventeenth century. It does not seem unreasonable to believe that during the sixteenth century such manuscripts circulated even beyond Philippe's adopted city Metz and so may have been known to the circle of the Queen of Navarre. If, as Frank seems to think, the idea of the composition of the *Heptameron* was elaborated as early as 1530 (a much later date has been accepted by Paris and other commentators), that brings it within two years of the death of Philippe (1528).

We cannot conclude without mentioning one striking general feature common to the *Heptameron* and the tale-book of Philippe, that is, the use of local color. In this respect Philippe's tales, which are nearly all blended into the contemporary social milieu of Metz and its environs during his lifetime, stand alone in the early history of the novel and tale in France and are only later to be paralleled by the *Heptameron* and especially by the novelistic work of Noël du Fail.

*Nouvelle 62*

The resemblance between the 64th tale of Philippe de Vigneulles and the 62d of the *Heptameron* begins with the titles although it should be remembered that the titles of Marguerite's tales are taken from a later manuscript and are not due to the authoress. Nevertheless the comparison is interesting. In the tale of the *Heptameron*, *Une damoiselle, faisant, souz le nom d'un aultre, un compte à quelque grande dame, se coupa si lourdement, que son honneur en demora tellement taché, que jamais elle ne le peut réparer.* Philippe's 64th tale *faict mencion d'une jeune dame laquelle en racomptant une nouvelle par son trop parler fut bien honteuse car elle decela son cas lequel pour rien ne vosit avoir dit.*

The introductions to the two *contes* are interesting for in each we see depicted a story telling party in full operation. In the tale of the *Heptameron* the "dame du sang royal" in whose house the lady tale-tellers meet has been identified by some editors as Marguerite herself. In Philippe's *conte* the scene is laid in the Duchy of

Lorraine. The ladies after dinner enter a garden to pick flowers and then tiring of that, sit down under a tree and there "se prindrent à racompter plusieurs nouvelles et joieusetez pour passer temps et pour se rire et gaudir." We have here a little frame that Philippe might have done well to adopt for his entire collection and which undoubtedly reflects his reading of Italian tale collections.<sup>19</sup> The ladies tell their tales in turn in the fashion of the "devisants" of the *Decameron*: (Philippe) "Entre icelles dames en y olt une laquelle fut peu fine et estoit jeune, tendre et gaillarde et avoit ouy les aultres comme j'ay dit racomptant merveille pour rire. Si vint à son tour . . ."; (*Heptameron*) "Entre aultres vint une demoiselle qui escoutait que chascun luy disoit tous les comptes qu'ilz pensoient, pour luy faire passer le temps. Elle s'advisa qu'elle n'en feroit moins que les aultres. . . ." Both ladies affirm the veracity of the tale they are about to tell: (*Heptameron*), "Madame, le compte est très veritable, je le prens sur ma conscience"; (Philippe)—"mais je vous dires qu'il advint n'a pas gramment en ung lieu de ceste contrée." Both ladies are young and their husbands much older. Thus far it will be seen that the stories are close parallels.

At this point are a few details of difference. In the *Heptameron* the young lady does not readily accede to the requests of her lover, after the departure of her husband. In Philippe's tale, she welcomes the husband's absence in order to receive her lover and the relations between them continue until his sudden return. If Marguerite did know the tale as it is found in the earlier collection it is conceivable that putting it in the mouth of Longarine, she may have toned it down a bit, although in several others of Longarine's tales (Nos. XV and XXV especially) she does not appear to have had that preoccupation. In the tale of the *Heptameron*, the lover comes to the lady's house unbidden by her in the husband's absence. From this point on the denouements are practically the same and the resemblance extends to portions of the text: (*Heptameron*) "A l'heure, sans avoir le sens de fermer la porte s'en vint coucher houzé et esperonné dedans le lict de la damoiselle"; (Phil. de V.)—"entra en la chambre là où la bonne dame couchoit et tout houze-

<sup>19</sup> Philippe tells us in his *Memoires* (cf. Michelant, *ed. cit.*, p. 32) that after a sojourn of four years in Italy, he brought back some Italian books to Metz with him.

lés et espronnez monta dessus le lict." In the *Heptameron*, the servants arrive and the lover tries to make a hasty exit: "Et ne s'en fust personne apperceu, sinon l'esperon qui s'estoit attaché au linceul de dessus l'emporta tout entier." It is the husband in Philippe's tale who knocks at the door of the room "et de haiste que ce gentilz homme olt de descendre et desvaller de dessus le lict, ses esperons s'accrocherent à la couverture de dessus le lict et emporta tout en bas." In both *contes* the ladies telling the story inadvertently attribute it to themselves by a change of person in almost the same language: (*Hept.*) "Jamais femme ne fust si estonnée que moy, quand je me trouvay toute nue"; (Philippe) "Parquoy, dit-elle, je me trouva toute nue et ne fus jamais plus esbahie"; (*Hept.*) "La pauvre damoiselle chercha ce qu'elle peut pour cuyder reparer son honneur mais il estoit vollé desja si loing, qu'elle ne le povoit plus rappeler"; (Philippe) "Mais par son trop parler le decela (son cas) et - - - eust vossu comme j'ai dit devant avoir racheté le mot de l'escus et il ne fut point esté dit.

We give herewith the full text of Philippe's tale<sup>20</sup> which is not inferior, it seems to us, to the tale of the *Heptameron* which seems to reproduce it so exactly. In fact for certain picturesque details, in spite of its scabrous nature, it offers a peculiar interest. After the comparison of the two tales can we still think with Frank<sup>21</sup> that Marguerite's tale has a contemporary historical foundation?

*La lxxiii<sup>e</sup> nouvelle faict mencion d'une jeune dame laquelle en racomptant une nouvelle, par son trop parler, fut bien honteuse car elle decela son cas lequel pour rien ne vosist avoir dit.*

On dit ung commun proverbe qui est vray et approuvez, c'est que trop grater cuit et trop parler nuyt.<sup>22</sup> Je dis cecy au propos d'une jeune dame de la Duché de Lorraine laquelle en racomptant une nouvelle vint à deceler son piteux cas lequel pour rien ne vosist

<sup>20</sup> The dialectal nature of the text of these tales will be clearly evident. For a bibliography of the Lorraine dialect cf. F. Brunot, *Histoire de la Langue Française*, Paris, 1905, I, pp. 314-316, especially p. 314, note 2.

<sup>21</sup> Félix Frank, *ed. cit.*, I, clxv.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Le Roux de Lincy, *Le Livre des Proverbes Français*, Paris, 1859, II, p. 427: trop parler nuit, trop gratter cuit (*Devis des Suppôts du Seigneur de la Coquille*, p. 169) XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Cotgrave, under *grater* (1611 edition), gives the proverb as Philippe has it and translates it: Too much scratching hurts the skin, too much talking the whole body.



avoir dit. Mais par mal adviser à ces parolles elle dit ung mot qu'elle eust vossu avoir rachetez de l'escus d'or et elle ne l'eust pas dit. Et pour ce, dit-on, les dentz sont bons <sup>23</sup> devant la langue et que on doit premier trois fois penser la chose avant que la dire ou aultrement bien souvent on s'en repent comme il en print à celle dame de quoy je fournirez ceste presente nouvelle comme il s'ensuit.

En la precedente nouvelle <sup>24</sup> nous avons parlés de la simple responce que firent jadis ung homme et une femme à l'article de la mort ainsi que aves ouy, mais le simple compte que fist jadis celle noble dame de quoy cy present je parle, luy fust quassi aussi grevable comme fust la simple responce de ceulx icy devant nommés. Ores oyés donques qu'il en advint.

En la Duché de Lorraine n'a pas loing temps se trouvèrent plusieurs dames ensembles en une compaignie. Les aulcunes estoient jeunes et les aultres estoient anciennes, lesquelles à ung après-disner et ne sachant que faire, s'en allèrent en ung jardin cuillir fleur et violette, et puis ce fait, se asseurent soubz l'ombre d'ung arbre et par manière de passe-temps se prindrent à racompter plusieurs nouvelles et joieusetez pour passer temps et pour se rire et gaudir. Et vindrent ces dames à dire merveille des choses qu'elles avoient veu en leurs temps car elles estoient droictement sur leurs gogues et joyeusetez. Et racompèrent icelles dames de plusieurs faicts advenus en leur eaige qui donnoient mestier ou cause de rire, lesquelles je laisse pour abreger, réservés l'ung de quoy je fais ce present compte comme vous orres.

Ores entre icelles dames en y olt une laquelle fut peu fine et estoit jeune, tendre et gaillarde, et avoit ouy les aultres, comme j'ay dit, racomptant merveille pour rire. Si vint à son tour de dire sa nouvelle laquelle fut finée à son deshonneur commes vous orres. Car pourtant qu'elle faisoit tant de la belle et petite bouchette, elle attribuoit ses parolles et son compte estre advenu à ung aultre, lequel estoit advenu à elle-mesme comme vous orrez. Et dit ainsi: "Mesdames, vous aves icy comptez de bons comptes de quoy Dieu mercy, et à vous j'en ay bien ris mon soulz, mais je vous direz qu'il advint n'a pas gramment en ung lieu de ceste contrée. Il est vray, faict-elle, que en ce pays y ait ung gentil homme qui est mariés et ait espousés une très belle jeune damoiselle et n'y a celle de vous qui ne la congnoisse bien. Mais cette damoiselle n'est pas mariée à son gré ne plaisir; parquoy doubtant que son mary ne soit surpris, elle

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Le Roux de Lincy, *ed. cit.*, I, 214. Bonnes sont les dents qui retiennent la langue (*Anthologie ou Conférence des Proverbes*, Ms.). The use of *dent* in the plural as masculine is frequent in Old French.

<sup>24</sup> Although there is no frame story to Philippe's tales except that all are supposed to have happened in and near Metz, the stories are frequently grouped about ideas and one story is commented upon by another as here.

luy ait donnez compaignon et aussi affin qu'il soit participant des pardons, elle l'ait mis de la grande confrairie.

"Ores advint ung jour que ce bon seigneur fut mandé du prince avec plusieurs aultres gentils hommes pour aller en guerre, et après plusieurs choses dictes et faictes, se partirent les armées, et en la conduite de leur capitaine s'en allerent là où il leurs fut ordonnez. Mais Dieu sceit, au depart de ce noble seigneur, se ce fut en grand regret, pleurs, et lamentacions de madame sa femme laquelle plouroit de joie, et n'y avoit homme qui la peust consoler. Toutesfois incontinent après le depart de son mary, la bonne dame manda tantost à son amy qu'il se trouva au lieu dit pour elle tenir compaignie affin qui ne luy ennoya et aussi de peur du tonnoire, et expressément luy manda la dame qu'il vint estre lieutenant de son dit mary. Et le dit gentilz homme qui estoit tout courtois ne faillist pas; ains monta à cheval et fut tantost arrivez car il ne demouroit pas plus de deux ou de trois lieues loing du chasteau là où se tenoit la dicte damoiselle. Et luy arrivez, Dieu sceit s'il fut le très bien venu et si on luy fist ung beau recueil, et firent la grant chièze, luy et la dame ensemble, tant au coucher comme au baigner en bangnetz et en recines et en plusieurs aultres choses. Et par plusieurs jours continuèrent ceste joyeuse vie; se c'estoit bien fait ou non chascun le sceit et entend.

"Ores advint, dist-elle, par succession de temps après plusieurs jours passés, que ce gentil homme, mary à la dame avec ses compaignons retournèrent de la guerre, et tant firent par leurs journées qu'il vindrent et arrivèrent à une lieue près du chasteau au dit seigneur, là où pour icelle heure estoit sa bonne preudefemme laquelle ne sçavoit rien de la revenue de son mary." Parquoy la dite dame recomptresse de ceste nouvelle et faindant comme j'ay dit devant que se fut d'une aultre qu'elle parloit, dit ainsi; "Ce seigneur, dit-elle, proposa de soy lever de bon matin pour prendre madame sa femme au chault du lit et pour soy deliter avec elle car moult la desiroit pour le loing temps qu'il ne l'avoit veue; et comme il le pensa, il le fist. Et se leva de très bon matin, puis se habisla et acoustra son cas, monta à cheval et sans en rien dire à ces compaignons, s'en alla le grand gallot droit le chemin à son chasteau. Et ainsi, dit-elle s'en vint se bon seigneur bacher et hurter à la porte du dit chasteau et incontinent qu'il fut congneu des serviteurs de l'ostel, il fust laissez dedans en grant joie. Mais vous orres por male fortune se qu'il en advint.

"Ce bon seigneur n'estoit encore pas venu si matin à l'ostel, quelque haste qu'il eust, que premier nostre amoureux son lieutenant ne fut illecques venu tenant sa plasse, car il savoit les secretz et engin de la maison et venoit à toutes heures qui luy plaisoit. Et

ainsi comme vous oyes, y estoit cest amoureux arrivez pour ce matin et à bien grant haste. Après et qu'il eust attaché son cheval, entra en la chambre là où la bonne dame couchoit et tout houzelés et esprounez monta dessus le lict et embrassa s'amyé si estroictement qu'il sembloit qui la vosist estrangler. Et en ses entrefaictes qu'ilz estoient à leur amoureux delitz, comme dit est, vint le marit à arriver et frappa à l'huix de la chambre. Mais quant les puvres amoureux se sentirent ainsi surprins, jamais n'eurent si grant peure et de haiste que ce gentilz homme olt de descendre et desvaller dessus le lict, ses esperons s'accrochèrent à la couverture de dessus le lict et empourta tout en bas. Parquoy, dit-elle, je me trouva toute nue et ne fus jamais plus esbahie ne apouretée que adoncques je fus."

Lorsque celle dame raconteresse de ceste nouvelle presente olt dit ce mot, elle devint rouge comme feu et ne sceust jamais plus que dire. Ains demeura toute honteuse et veit bien qu'elle avoit mal parlez de soy avoir nommez. Parquoy les auditeurs et escoustans congneurent son cas qui paravant estoit secret et celez. Mais par son trop parler le decela et en fust depuis regardée en maintes lieux et eust vossu, comme j'ay dit devant, avoir racheté le mot de l'escus et il ne fut point esté dit. Et ainsi doncques est bien vray ce proverbe mis à l'encommencement que trop grater cuit et trop parler nuyst.

#### Nouvelles 28 AND 52

Pietro Toldo in his article on the *Heptameron*<sup>25</sup> suggests as parallels, if not sources, of these two tales of shockingly bad taste, certain categorically similar tales of the Italian *novelle*: Sacchetti (98), Bandello (25 of part IV), Sermini (35), and a certain *burla* of Gonnellá. The latter, contained in extremely rare editions, was not accessible to us, but we have examined the other analogues suggested by Toldo and found them quite different from either of the tales of the *Heptameron*. Marguerite, it is thought, did not know the work of Bandello. Sermini and Sacchetti existing at this time in manuscript only, surely did not furnish the sources of the tales in question. We do not have to go outside of French literature for closer parallels to these two tales and if we have a feeling from the comparison of the tales just studied that Marguerite may have known directly or indirectly the tale book of Philippe de Vigneulles,

<sup>25</sup> Pietro Toldo, *Contributo allo studio della novella francese del XV e XVI secolo*, Rome, 1895, p. 76; Paris' valuable review of this work in *Journal des Savants*, 1895, makes no allusion to any of the four tales which we treat in this article.

this feeling is, we believe, strengthened by a consideration of two more tales of the latter, Nos. 24 and 48, in connection with Nos. 28 and 52 of the *Heptameron*. Although here the analogies are not so textually close, the denouements with their accompanying causes are practically the same. Unfortunately the stories on account of their stercoraceous nature cannot be discussed in detail. It must be remembered in this connection, however, that in the epoch of Rabelais an entirely different attitude prevailed toward the physical functions and such *mauvaises plaisanteries* as are depicted in these tales. To use the words of a recent French editor in publishing an obnoxious fabliau: nous n'insistons pas sur la matière de ces deux contes.

In the 52nd tale of the *Heptameron*,<sup>26</sup> the "estron gelé," mistaken for something different and picked up in the street, has about the same nauseating effect as in the 24th tale of Philippe de Vigneulles. Philippe's *conte* is fragmentary and French literature would have lost but little, if the end of this tale had been torn from the manuscript with its beginning. We are left in doubt as to the situation developed in the first part of the story because of a lacuna in the MS: but at the outset the presence of the woman seems for some unknown reason to have annoyed the group of which Philippe himself appears to have been a member.

Is not the resemblance between this tale and No. 52 of the *Heptameron* sufficiently close to convince us that Marguerite's tale cannot have a historical foundation as again M. Frank would have us believe? <sup>27</sup>

#### TEXT OF THE 24TH TALE OF PHILIPPE DE VIGNEULLES

. . . Elle avoit ung petit enfans. Celle femme se arresta pour escouter le huttin que nous menions. Alors yl y eust aucuns de nous qui rua une petite pierre devers elle pour l'en faire aller et elle se print au braire et au tencer contre nous par tel manière que nous

<sup>26</sup> The title will give us a summary of the tale: Un valet d'Apoticaire, voyant venir derrière soy un Avocat que luy menoit tousjours la guerre et duquel il avoit envie de se venger, laissa tomber de sa manche un étron gelé, envelopé dans du papier en guise d'un pain de sucre, que l'Avocat leva de terre et le cacha en son sein; puis s'en alla desjeuner en une taverne, dont il ne sortit qu'avec la despense et honte qu'il pensoit faire au pauvre valet.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Félix Frank, *ed. cit.*, I, p. cxxvii.

eussions bien vossu qu'elle fut esté aultre part. Mais elle ne s'en aloit point et braioit tousiours plus fort pour laquelle chose il y eust aucun autre de nous que luy monstra le cul par la fenestre. Et pour ce qu'il estoit nuyt elle ne le veoit pas bien au vray for que à la clarté de la lune. Elle le veoit blanchir et le petit enfans qui estoit avec elle, qui pareillement veoit le cul blanchir, ait dit ainsi à sa grant mère, "Ha, mère, dit-il, vees la que c'est à la fenestre. C'est la mort qui est illec, je la vois toute blanche."

Et alors se print tousiours la vielle plus fort à huttiner et quant nous vismes qu'elle ne se tairoit point et que par elle nous pourrions estre accusez, nous serchames de tous costez pour avoir une pierre ou de l'eau pour ly ruer mais nous n'en trouvâmes point, et ne fut rien trouvé propice forsque qu'il y en eust ung de nous qui trouva ung groz estron qui estoit tout engelez. Si le print et le rua sur la teste de la vielle et du cop qu'il print ly fist une beloce,<sup>28</sup> et ce rompa le dit estron en deux, et elle cuidant que se fut une pierre, en recueillit les pièces et braioit plus fort que devant, en menassent de s'en plaindre. Et print les dictes pièces d'estron et les pourta en sa maison pretendand de les pourter en justice. Et pour ce que son mary estoit couchiez, elle mist le dit estron en son armoire auprès du feu jusques au lendemain sans aultrement regarder que c'estoit et le lendemain venu, elle compta tout la fait à son mari et avec ce luy volut monstrier les pièces de pierres qu'elle avoit appourtez. Mais en les prenant, elle se deschia les doigts ad cause que pour la challeur du feu, il estoit desia degelez en l'armoire, et quant elle le veit au jour et qu'elle congneut que c'estoit ung estron, elle fut bien honteuse et n'en dit oncques puis mot. Ains se tint avec ce qu'elle avoit de poisson<sup>29</sup> et ainsi en demeurâmes paisibles.

Tale 28 of the *Heptameron*<sup>30</sup> "naguères advenu" concerns an absurd trick played by a certain Gascon upon the secretary of the Queen of Navarre, named in the *conte* simply Jean but who is identified by Montaiglon<sup>31</sup> as a real personage, a certain secretary Jean Frotté. Philippe's 48th tale which at first seems to differ considerably from the tale of the *Heptameron*, nevertheless shows similarity with it along general lines. The secretary of Marguerite's story believes to do pleasure to his mistress by offering her what he thinks

<sup>28</sup> beloce = petite prune sauvage; here probably a lump.

<sup>29</sup> Le Roux de Lincy, *ed. cit.*, does not explain this expression but Cotgrave, under *poisson*, has: il se retira avec cela qu'il avoit de poisson prins: he got him away with the shame he had gotten, or with a flea in his eare.

<sup>30</sup> Bernard du Ha trompa subtilement un Secrétaire qui le cuidoit tromper.

<sup>31</sup> *L'Heptameron des nouvelles*, ed. Le Roux de Lincy et A. de Montaiglon, Paris, 1880, 4 vols., Vol. IV, p. 280.

is "ung pasté du meilleur jambon de Pasques qu'elle mangea jamais." He is ignorant of the real contents of the *pasté*. The dinner of which the preliminary courses with the wine were furnished by the lady has as its *pièce de résistance*, the *pâté* brought by the lover. Such are the main details up to the time when the "pastez" is brought on the table in Philippe's story, but the disaster is more complete here for the "prebtre," although just as innocent of any malice aforethought as is the secretary in the story of the *Heptameron*, loses the love of his lady, whereas in the latter tale the mistress of the secretary with her "voisines" is at first inclined to anger upon seeing the contents of the *pâté*, but they finally judge by the expression on the secretary's face that he was ignorant of the trick that had been played on him. In Philippe's tale, however, the obnoxious contents of the *pâté* come there not through a trick but as the result of an accident in the dark. There is a touch of real humor in the attitude of the companion of the priest in this story: à luy n'en challoit comme la chose en alloit, mais qu'il fist la grant chiere et qu'il mangea du paste; and again: Or celle cheute, fut son compaignon grandement mary voyant icelluy beau paste; ainsy gastez et maculez, car plus y alloit pour l'amour du paste que pour l'amour de la dame.

*La xlviii<sup>e</sup> nouvelle faict mention d'ung prebtre lequel par cuidier bien faire, perdit l'amour de sa damme.<sup>22</sup>*

Il n'y a pas encor cent ans que en nostre bonne cité de Mets y eust ung bon chappellain lequel fut fort enamoureux d'une belle jeune nonnains du Couvent des Pucelles ainsi surnommées, et avoit cestuit bon chappellain grant devocion aux saintes de celle bonne religion et tant y besongna qu'il fuit en la grace de sa dame. Ores advint une nuyt qu'il avoit permis d'aller veoir et visiter icelle sainte dame, laquelle chose ne pouvoit bonnement faire sans avoir ayde d'aucun compaignon pourtant qu'il failloit passer par dessus de murs de la closture de leur hostel. Sy fist tant nostre dit chappellain qu'il eust amytié et affinité avec aucuns compaignons de son mestier que luy aidèrent à son entreprinse. Et furent plusieurs fois visiter la bonne dame et ses reliques en gaudissant decoste elle et parolient de contemplacion et des choses saintes, Dieu le sceit et congnoit, sans ceu que jamais furent apperceu d'aucuns.

Mais ainsy que fortune guerrie tousiours à povres amoureux,

<sup>22</sup> A fitting title for Marguerite's tale would be: *La 28<sup>e</sup> nouvelle faict mention d'ung secretaire lequel par cuidier bien faire, faillit perdre l'amour de sa damme.*

une fois entre les aultres nostre chappellain s'advisa de faire une bien bonne chièrre et de grant devotion decoste icelle bonne sainte personne et dit à son compaignon: " Nous allons tousiours decoste icelle bonne dame que tu sces mais jamais nous n'y pourtons rien. Il faut, fait-il, aourer lez saints. Que me conseil-tu de faire? ou se je ferez faire ung bon pastez ou aultre chose et de soy y trouver l'une de ces nuyts?—Je cuide qu'elle nous en sçauroit grant gré, par ma foy, dit son compaignon, c'est moult bien dit et bien pensez," car à luy n'en challoit comme la chose en alloit mais qu'il fist la grant chièrre et qu'il mangea du pastez.

Si fist le dit incontinant savoir par aucun secret messaiger<sup>22</sup> à nostre nonnains tout le fait et leur entreprinse et comment ilz devoient venir la nuyct ensuyvant et qu'elle appresta bien la recine, et aussi luy dit le messaigier qu'ilz y pourteroient je ne sçay quoi de bon. Et ainsi comme il fut dit, il fut fait, car le dit prebtre fist faire ung bon groz pastez bien fait et bien fryant auquel y avoit dedans des bons oysellets lesquelz estoient confis à la gresse et aux espices. Et la nuyct qui avoit estez dicte, prindrent celui pastez, luy et son compaignon, et s'en allèrent vers celle qui les attendoit et que tant les desiroit affin qu'elle eust quelque offrande.

Mais il y avoit bien manière à y entrer car il convenoit passer par dessus ung mur comme j'ay dit devant, lequel estoit aussi hault qu'un homme pouvoit advenir de la main, et estoit celui mur en une ruelle darier les murs de la ville. Et failloit que l'ung aidait à monter l'autre, aultrement ilz n'eussent sceu monter, car quant l'ung estoit montez hault par l'aide de l'autre, il failloit qu'il retirait son compaignon après luy. Mais vecy où que le mal fut, car quant nostre prebtre fut hault, son compaignon luy donnist le pastez et il le mist auprez de luy sur le mur pour le aider à tirer hault. Or advint par coup de malle fortune que en tirant son compaignon, il fist tomber icelluy pastez à terre et cheut entre des estrons<sup>24</sup> qui estoient illecques tous engelez car c'estoit au temps d'iver. Or celle cheute, fut son compaignon grandement mary voyant icelluy beau pastez ainsy gastez et maculez, car plus y alloit pour l'amour du pastez que pour l'amour de la damme. Toutesfois il mist grant peine à la recueillir, mais par coup de fortune tout ne se pourta pas

<sup>22</sup> In the *Heptameron* it is the secretary in person who makes the announcement to the lady but the passage is strongly suggestive of this part of Philippe's tale.

<sup>24</sup> It would have been very natural for Marguerite, if she knew these last two stories of Philippe, to change the contents of the pâté in appropriating them. Curiously enough Marguerite in her tale uses the expression, "Jean qui n'estoit pas de ceulx qui laissent le bien en terre sans le recueillir" where it is not a question, as here, of picking anything up, although this may be merely a coincidence.

bien, car pourtant qu'il estoit nuyt et ne veoit-on pas bien, il print une bille d'estron avec les oysillons qui estoient tumbés dehors du pastez, et mist estron et tout au pastez, puis remist à point le dessus du dit pastez au mieulx qu'il peust.

Et cela faict avec l'aide de maistre chappellain que aussi estoit bien courroucez d'avoir tumbé celuy pastez, monta hault et firent tant qu'ilz vindrent decoste dame nonnain qui les receipt en grant joie laquelle ne dura guière. Car après plusieurs metz et plusieurs bons morceaux qu'elle leurs avoit apprestez, vint à entamer ce dit pastelz et par cop de fortune le morceau friant qui estoit en celuy pastelz ainsi confis, vint en la part de madame la nonnains et luy fut donnez de la main de nostre chappellain que rien n'en savoit, dont, quant se vint à le sentir entre ses dentz, fut si tresmarie cuidant qu'ilz l'eussent faict par malice qu'elle les boutta hors de sa chambre ne jamais depuis n'en volt ouyr parler. Et ainsi aves ouy que pour cuidier bien faire, il fut hays et en la male grace de sa dame.

#### *Nouvelle 34*

The similarity between this *conte* of the *Heptameron*<sup>25</sup> and the well-known account of an adventure in Calabria in the form of a letter<sup>26</sup> written by Paul-Louis Courier, was first pointed out by M. Félix Frank.<sup>27</sup> A comparison of the two leaves but little doubt as to the fact that Courier got his idea from the tale of the *Heptameron* in spite of the great pains he takes to assure us that it was an actual happening. In affirming the truth of the tale, written in the form of a familiar letter and copied from the *Heptameron*, he was only making use of the time-worn custom of the old tale-tellers. No edition of the *Heptameron* suggests a possible source or earlier analogue for Marguerite's tale but C. V. Le Clerc<sup>28</sup> would have us believe that the fabliau *Estula*<sup>29</sup> may have contributed a portion of

<sup>25</sup> Deux cordeliers, escoustans le secret où l'on ne les avoit appelez, pour avoir mal entendu le langage d'un boucher, meirent leur vie en danger.

<sup>26</sup> *Pamphlets politiques et littéraires de P.-L. Courier, suivis d'un choix de ses Lettres*, Paris, Masgana et Pagnerre, 1839, Vol. II, Letter of November 1st, 1807. This has since been frequently published.

<sup>27</sup> Felix Frank, *ed. cit.*, III, 379 and 538 ff. Frank compares a number of significant passages of the two works.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Historie Littéraire de la France*, XXIII, 184-185.

<sup>29</sup> Montaiglon et Reynaud, *Recueil Général des Fabliaux*, Paris, 1872-1890, IV, 87: "Cette histoire que Paul-Louis Courier s'est appropriée, existe aussi dans Bonaventure Desperriers; une partie de l'aventure est reproduite dans les *Contes de la Reine de Navarre* (nouv. 34). Le sieur d'Ouille et Imbert l'ont imitée depuis." We have not been able to find any story of Des Periers that has any apparent close relationship with this tale.



the tale, although he does not suggest in what manner Marguerite may have known it. We have recently compared this fabliau in detail with the tale of the *Heptameron* and have found but slight evidence to substantiate the claim. The two stories could not be more different and one wonders what Le Clerc had in mind until near the end of the fabliau a priest does mistake the words of a thief who speaks of slaughtering a sheep, for a reference to himself, but neither the events that lead up to this detail nor the conclusion of the fabliau show any points of resemblance to the story of the *Heptameron*. Frank asserts his belief that the latter has some historical foundation.<sup>40</sup>

Recently while working over some fabliaux contained in an English manuscript we were struck by the similarity of the general ideas of our story and those of another fabliau entitled *De L'Aventure d'Ardene*, a version of which was published by Montaiglon and Raynaud in the *Recueil Général* <sup>41</sup> *des Fabliaux* under the name of *Du Sot Chevalier* from a Paris manuscript. Because of the obscene nature of the subject matter of this fabliau, it is impossible to treat it here in detail but we shall try to draw the main points of comparison between it and the tale of the *Heptameron*.

The fabliau has an introductory portion which is not paralleled in the *conte*. The resemblance begins at line 99 in the fabliau.

## FABLIAU.

A number of chevaliers on a mission and bearing a message are caught in a severe storm and lose their way. They finally come to the house of a chevalier where they are received and arrange for shelter for the night.

Among the chevaliers is one who is very tall and another who is conspicuously short.

The chevaliers in their room overhear a conversation between their host and his wife, before they close their chamber door, in

## CONTE.

Two cordeliers arrive late in a small village and put up for the night in the house of a butcher.

One of the cordeliers is very stout and the other quite thin.

The two cordeliers, through the thin planking in their room, overhear the conversation between the butcher and his wife,

<sup>40</sup> F. Frank, *ed. cit.*, I, cxlvi.

<sup>41</sup> Mont. et Ray., *ed. cit.*, I, 220.

which it is a question of maltreating "le plus long" et "le plus court."

This conversation is taken by the tall and short chevaliers to refer to them, although it is associated in the mind of their host with something quite different.

The chevaliers however decide to remain in the house. The host during the night comes through their room to get a drink for his wife, loses his way, and mistaking the tall and the short chevaliers asleep in bed for the wine cask, unwittingly uses them roughly and they escape in great haste, believing that the host was carrying out his threats.

A general explanation of the matter satisfies the chevaliers bent upon avenging their comrades.

It is quite possible that Marguerite or members of her circle heard this old fabliau in some form or other circulating orally. Although the fabliau as a literary genre died out in the early fourteenth century, the survival of the fabliau subject matter in the popular mind is abundantly attested in plots of late medieval and early Renaissance comedies and farces, in works of art, in allusions to them in books, in their presence in reduced form in collections of exempla and in the contribution they have made to the subject matter of numerous 15th and 16th century prose tales as appears from a study of the sources of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, the contes of Philippe de Vigneulles, Bonaventure des Periers and others. In the *Heptameron*, itself, we find represented the themes of certain other fabliaux: *De la Male Dame*,<sup>42</sup> *Le Meunier d'Arleu*<sup>43</sup> of Enguerrand d' Oisy, and *Fière Denise*<sup>44</sup> of Rutebeuf.

Curiously enough the introductory portion of the fabliau *Du*

in which it is a question of killing two pigs the next morning. The butcher alludes to them as cordeliers.

The two cordeliers believe from this conversation that the butcher is intent upon killing them, whereas he has only the pigs in mind.

The two cordeliers do not wait for further developments but jump out of the window. The stout one hurts his leg and takes refuge in the pig sty; the lean one makes good his escape. The next morning the stout one has to confront the butcher who comes armed with a knife to kill the pigs. There results a satisfactory explanation between the priest and the butcher.

A general explanation of the affair satisfies an investigating party sent to the butcher upon the complaint of the lean friar.

<sup>42</sup> Mont. et Ray., ed. cit., VI, 35; *Heptaméron*, nouv. VI.

<sup>43</sup> Mont. et Ray., ed. cit., II, 31; *Heptaméron*, nouv. VIII.

<sup>44</sup> Mont. et Ray., ed. cit., III, 263; *Heptaméron*, nouv. XXXI.

*Sot Chevalier* (verses 1-99) is found closely paralleled in a *novella* of Pietro Fortini of Siena who was a contemporary of the Queen of Navarre and wrote his numerous tales about the middle of the 16th century. It is also found represented in a collection of *contes* and anecdotes of Lodovico Domenichi<sup>46</sup> (1562). Can it be that during this epoch the old fabliau was circulating orally, divided into two separate *contes* and that thus the Italian tale-tellers became acquainted with its first part and the Queen of Navarre with its second part?

The new version of the fabliau to which we have alluded shows it to be the work of a certain Gautier Le Leu, a 13th century *jongleur* of northeastern France. It enables us to clear up difficulties in the text, gives us a number of better readings and furnishes a number of rhymes which are obviously imperfect in the published version. We expect shortly to publish this fabliau in a study which we are preparing on the *jongleur* Gautier Le Leu.<sup>46</sup>

In concluding this article, we wish to present the following ideas as reasonable impressions gained from a detailed study of the conteurs of the circle of the Queen of Navarre: (1) The novelistic work of Philippe de Vigneulles was probably known in some way to the group of tale-tellers of the Queen of Navarre;<sup>47</sup> (2) Investigation of the sources and analogues of the tales of the *Heptameron* has tended and will tend to minimize the importance of the historical character of the tales. (3) The Queen of Navarre who had at her disposal an extensive repertory of *contes* while working out the idea of the *Heptameron* could scarcely have been ignorant of the fact that a number of those which she chose for inclusion in the work were not only not based on contemporary occurrences but were in reality old and oft repeated tales.

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<sup>46</sup> For the tale of Fortini, cf. *Raccolta de' Novellieri Italiani*, Firenze, 1834, V, p. 1156, *novella tersa*: Come Lucrezia insegna a Biagio suo genero a consumare il matrimonio; e di qui è derivato quel detto che dice: Si crede Biagio. For the *conte* of Domenichi, cf. Lodovico Domenichi, *Detti e fatti di diversi signori e persone private*, Firenze, 1562, p. 39. There is a passage in the late Greek romance of *Daphnis et Chloë* which utilizes this same theme.

<sup>46</sup> The outline of this study was presented as a paper before the Romance Section of the Modern Language Association Meeting, December, 1922, cf. *Publications of the Modern Language Ass. of America*, vol. XXXVIII, No. 1 (1923), p. xxiii.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. p. 6 above and our reference to the relations of Philippe's work to that of Bonaventure des Periers.

## BERNARD DE POEY:

### A CONTEMPORARY OF THE PLÉIADE

ELSEWHERE the writer has dealt with the history of the Jeux Floraux of Toulouse in the period of the Renaissance.<sup>1</sup> In that article was included a sketch of Bernard de Poey together with specimens of his poetry. The extracts from his poems included those taken from his published works and from the unpublished poems for which he was awarded prizes in the contests of the Jeux Floraux. The purpose of this article is to present the Toulouse poet in a more suggestive manner, and to bring to light in their entirety the three poems for which Bernard de Poey won successively the *Églantine*, the *Souci*, and the *Violette*, the three flowers of the Jeux Floraux.

Bernard de Poey<sup>2</sup> was born at Luc in Béarn in the reign of Francis I. His native language was the *patois* of his province, that is to say a popular and colloquial form of one of the dialects of the ancient Provençal. Of his antecedents and the precise date of his birth nothing is known. From his *Ode du Gave* we learn that he had lost early in life his mother and sisters, but that his father and a brother were still living at the time the poem was written. It has been conjectured that he came of a Calvinist family.<sup>3</sup>

The earliest mention of Bernard de Poey is to be found in the *procès verbal* of the Jeux Floraux for the year 1551.<sup>4</sup> On May 3

<sup>1</sup> *Romanic Review*, vol. XII, No. 3 ff. Also Dawson's *Toulouse in the Renaissance*, part i, Columbia University Press, 1921.

<sup>2</sup> Goujet (t. xiii, p. 338) explains variants of the name Poey: "On l'a nommé du Puy, parce que dans quelques poésies latines que nous avons de sa composition, il a tourné son nom par Podius, qui signifie du Puy. Il a été appelé Poymonclar, parce qu'il avait passé sa première enfance à Monclar, où sa famille avait du bien." Bernard Coderci, the *greffier* of the Jeux Floraux, in entering the *procès verbal* for the year 1551 writes twice: Bernard Podieux. The poet signs his name to his winning poem of that year: Bernard Podius. In 1553 the *greffier* writes: Bernard Podius, while the poet signs: de Podius. In 1560 the *greffier* inscribes: Bernard Poey, while the poet signs: Bernard de Poey de Luc.

<sup>3</sup> Goujet, t. xiii, p. 338.

<sup>4</sup> *Livre Rouge* (1513-1641), preserved in MS. at the Bibliothèque des Jeux Floraux, Toulouse.

of that year the young poet, at the time a student in the university or in one of the auxiliary *collèges* at Toulouse, appeared as a contestant before the judges of the Jeux Floraux and was awarded the *Églantine* for a *chant royal*, an allegorical poem bearing the high-sounding title "Du mystère de l'unité et trinité divine."

Of the poet's connection with the Jeux Floraux we shall speak in another paragraph. What is of interest at this point is that Bernard de Poey was a student (*escollier*) at Toulouse in the scholastic year 1550-51. Assuming that he left home at the age at which boys were usually sent away to school in the sixteenth century, he was probably born between 1530 and 1535. At the moment of his birth, Toulouse was enjoying the first great flush and glow of the Renaissance. A number of celebrated humanists occupied chairs in the university. Jacques de Minut, an Italian by birth and *premier président* of the parlement of Toulouse, lent all of his influence to the success of humanism. Three other *présidents*—Jean de Bertrand, Pierre du Faur, and Guy de Mansencal—were like him fervent humanists. The most ardent protector of humanism and the Renaissance was Jean de Pins, Bishop of Rieux, who occupied the post of ambassador to Italy under Francis I, and who built at Toulouse a splendid mansion in the Renaissance style which is still to be seen at No. 46 rue de Languedoc. Guillaume Budé, as "régent en humanités," encouraged and directed with remarkable success the study of the poets and orators of antiquity. A throng of ardent humanists was to be found among the teachers and students of the university. It is said that before the middle of the sixteenth century the number of students enrolled at Toulouse had reached ten thousand. Many of these students were destined to occupy important positions in Toulouse and elsewhere. Among them were Jean de Boysson, who became professor of law in the university,—the friend of Rabelais and author of poems and other works in Latin and French; the celebrated Michel de l'Hospital, who at the age of eighteen was a student in civil law at Toulouse, when he was banished from the country on account of his father's connection with the treason of the Connétable de Bourbon; and Arnaud du Ferrier, who was destined to occupy a chair of law at Toulouse and to become the master of the renowned Cujas. Jacques du Faur, brother of Pierre du Faur mentioned above, was to become *maître des re-*

*quêtes* and *conseiller d'état* at Paris. Pierre Bunel became a remarkable Latinist and learned jurisconsult. He was the preceptor of Guy du Faur, sieur de Pibrac, son of Pierre du Faur, and author of the *Quatrains*. Étienne Dolet, the acknowledged leader of the Ciceronians in France, was a student of law at Toulouse during this period, and began that stormy career which was to lead him to the stake in the *Place Maubert* at Paris. The crowning point of humanism at Toulouse was the triumphal entry of Francis I in 1533.

The chief characteristics of humanism everywhere were a feverish desire to master the authors of antiquity, especially of Latin antiquity, to rival the ancient masters in the art of writing the language of the classical period, and to equal if not surpass them in composing works in Latin, especially poetry. The usual symptoms of humanism ran their course at Toulouse as elsewhere. Jean Voulté, professor of *belles-lettres* at Toulouse, composed epigrams in Latin. Étienne Dolet composed Latin orations in fiery Ciceronian accents, as well as elegant Latin verse. Jean de Boysson wrote *Carmina* in Latin—elegies, epistles, iambics, odes and hendecasyllables.<sup>5</sup>

The period of intense cultivation of the Latin language and Latin poetry was succeeded generally by a period of translating Latin works, and attempts at cultivating Latin forms in French. At just what moment the last phase of the humanistic movement began at Toulouse, it is difficult to say; but it had begun by the time Bernard de Poey made his first appearance in the *Jeux Floraux*. The first printed volume of his poems of which there is any record was published in 1551, and was dedicated to Antoine de Bourbon and Jeanne de Navarre. The title of this thin volume of fifty pages of poems written in French and printed at Toulouse by Guyon de Boudeville, "*Ode du Gave fleuve en Bearn, du fleuve de la Garonne avec les tristes chans a sa Caranite*," indicates the nature of the contents. Colletet<sup>6</sup> says that in this same year the young poet published in Toulouse some poems in Latin,—odes in honor of various persons, among them Pierre de Ronsard. It is probable that he went through an apprenticeship of composing in Latin, which was followed by efforts at writing in French, imitating the Latin and Italian forms.

<sup>5</sup> R. de Boysson, *Un Humaniste toulousain*.

<sup>6</sup> Guillaume Colletet, *Vies des Poètes français*.

His first volume mentioned above was introduced by a sonnet. In 1549 Du Bellay had published his *Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise* in which he scores the old mediaeval French forms of poetry—the *rondeau*, the *ballade*, and the *chant royal*, recommending that the young poets of France should leave such trifles to the Jeux Floraux of Toulouse and cultivate the forms of antiquity,—the ode, the elegy, the satire, etc., and the sonnet of the Italians. Du Bellay's first volume of sonnets, the *Olive*, had appeared in the fall of 1549. A few months later, in 1550, Ronsard published his first volume of *Odes*. From the fact that Bernard de Poey published in 1551 a Latin ode in honor of Ronsard, we know that he must by that time have become acquainted with the young school of the Pléiade. His *Ode à la Garonne* seems to have been composed for the occasion of the annual contest of the Jeux Floraux. On May 1 of 1551 Cardinal d'Armagnac, one of the governors of Languedoc, made his first entry into Toulouse. The capitouls or aldermen of the city were his official hosts. They were also the annual hosts of the Jeux Floraux, and gave each year a *dîner* or *banquet* in connection with the meetings of that body. On May 2 Cardinal d'Armagnac was a guest at the *banquet* of the Jeux Floraux, and was present at the distribution of the floral prizes on May 3. In his poem Poey sings the praises of a number of men prominent in the life of Toulouse of that day. The first in the list is Cardinal d'Armagnac; then comes the *premier président* of the parlement, Mansencal. These are followed by *mainteneurs* and *maîtres* of the Jeux Floraux and other men of note.

From numerous references in the *Livre Rouge*, it may be inferred that the poets who contested from year to year were not confined strictly to the *chant royal* for which alone the prizes came to be conferred, but that they were permitted to read before the assembled audience other poems as well, and that these supplementary poems came to be read even before the judges. It is quite certain that the contestants frequently carried with them to the contests a sheaf of poetry, and while the prizes were always given for a *chant royal*, it is very probable that the decision was made after consideration of all the poems presented by the candidates. Evidence of this is frequently afforded by the wording of the secretary in his minutes of the annual meetings, and from the fact that from

time to time a second poem is transcribed in the *Livre Rouge* along with the winning *chant royal* of a given poet.

From internal evidence Poey's *Ode à la Garonne* was written upon the occasion of the visit of Cardinal d'Armagnac to Toulouse, and it was of such a nature as to attract the favorable attention of the judges. Not only is it a plausible conclusion that this poem was read at the Jeux Floraux, but it is also probable that the other poems of this first volume of verse, or at least most of them, were read there and afterwards printed as a poetic *triomphe*. In the seventeenth century it became a fixed custom of the poets of the Jeux Floraux to publish their winning *chant royal* together with other poems in volumes known as *Triumphes*. After the close of the *Livre Rouge* in 1641, the principal source of information for more than half a century concerning the Jeux Floraux is these *Triumphes*, often bearing such titles as: *Le Mont de Parnasse pour le Triomphe de la Violette*, *Les Larmes de Clytie pour le triomphe du Soucy*, *Le tableau de l'inconstance de Phylis pour le triomphe de la violette*. If the theory here advanced is correct, Bernard de Poey had composed a part of his first volume of odes and *chans a sa Caranite* (including two sonnets) before May of 1551.

The *privilege* for Du Bellay's *Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise* and for the *Olive* was dated March 20, 1549. Tilley, in his *Literature of the French Renaissance*, states that "almost if not quite simultaneously with the *Deffence* he published a thin volume entitled *Olive*," but it is generally thought that this first volume of sonnets appeared in the fall of 1549. The *privilege* for Ronsard's first volume, (*Les quatre premiers Livres des Odes de Pierre de Ronsard, Ensemble son Bocage*), is dated January 10, 1550. Considering the slowness of communication and the isolation of the provinces in the sixteenth century, could the influence of Du Bellay and Ronsard, and especially of the latter, have been felt so quickly at Toulouse? Were the poets of the Toulouse school cultivating poetry along lines laid down by Du Bellay and Ronsard simultaneously with or even prior to their earliest productive efforts? A study of the poets of the Jeux Floraux in the decade from 1540 to 1550 may possibly alter some of the prevailing views with regard to the history of French poetry in the sixteenth century. That Du Bellay was familiar with the Jeux Floraux is shown by his refer-



ence in the *Deffence*. But that Du Bellay was condemning the Toulouse school does not necessarily follow. He must have been aware that the *chant royal* had become the fixed form for which prizes were bestowed in the Jeux Floraux, and that was no doubt what he had in mind when he wrote his manifesto. We know now that Du Bellay had no original ideas in his *Deffence*, that the contents of this work were borrowed from Italian sources, and that he gave no credit to his Italian predecessors. It is quite possible that he was influenced in his views of poetry by the poets of the Toulouse school. We know that the poets of the Lyons school were precursors of the Pléiade. If Lyons was subjected to the Italian influence earlier than Paris, it is more than likely that Toulouse underwent that influence as early as Lyons or even earlier. Toulouse, situated midway between Bordeaux and Marseilles, was on a main highway of travel and in direct line of communication both by sea and land with Italy. Students and professors passed back and forth between Toulouse and Italy. After completing their studies at Toulouse, in accordance with the custom of the times, young men topped off their education by spending a season under celebrated teachers in the Italian universities. The university chairs at Toulouse were filled by men who had studied at Rome, Padua and other university centers in Italy.

With the transformation of the ancient Consistory of Gay Science into the College of the Art and Science of Rhetoric at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Jeux Floraux had come under the influence of the reigning poetic school of the North, the Rhetoricians. The traditional forms in which the aspiring poets had been compelled to compete,—the *vers* and the *canço*,—were displaced first by the *ballade*; and later by the *chant royal*, which remained the sole form for which prizes were awarded until the later seventeenth century. When the struggles between the humanists and the barbarians (as the reactionaries were called) were at their height at Toulouse, an attempt was made under the leadership of Étienne Dolet to inject humanism into the Jeux Floraux. At the contest of May, 1534, Étienne Dolet presented ten poems written in Latin, but received no prize, evidently because the spirit of *barbarie* was too strongly intrenched. By 1540 a vigorous spirit of reaction had set in at Toulouse, so it is not strange that few if any

traces of the new influences are to be found in the winning poems of the decade between 1540 and 1550. It is rather in the general work of the Jeux Floraux poets of this period that we must seek the new spirit; and not only in the works of poets whose names are inscribed in the records of the Jeux Floraux, but in the works of others, who were attracted to Toulouse by the fame of its university.

Bernard de Poey won the *Églantine* in 1551, the *Souci* in 1553, and the *Violette* in 1560. The poems for which these prizes were awarded are as follows:

1551. CHANT ROYAL PAR ALLÉGORIE, DU MISTÈRE DE  
L'ÉGLANTINE. L'UNITÉ ET TRINITÉ DIVINE.

En ung verger auquel nature humaine  
N'a point accès sans contemplation,  
Je fuz ravy, duquel en rude vayne  
Veulx réciter quelque description.  
Moyse fut sur tous éloquent maistre,  
En descrivant le Paradis terrestre;  
Homère escript par grand dextérité  
D'aulcuns vergiers la belle aménité;  
Mais on n'a veu, en ce terrestre estaige,  
Vergier où soit à perpétuité  
*L'arbre chargé de fleurs, fruit et ramage.*

Cet arbre assis en une belle plaine  
Donne à l'aspect grand dellectation;  
Tout seul il est, l'on trouveroit à peyne  
Arbre qui fust de sa conditon.  
Il est si beau, que plus beau ne peult estre,  
L'on n'en void onc, en ce bas monde naistre,  
Qui fut pareil à sa procréité, (?)  
L'on n'en veid onc tel en fertillité;  
Il est fort grand et de très hault fustage,  
Dont a bon droit grand loz a mérité  
*L'arbre chargé de fleurs, fruit et ramage.*

Sa droicte tige, en beauté souveraine,  
Trois branches eut d'un proportion;  
L'une des troys, qui grand verdure ameyne,  
Aux autres deux faict décoration.

Ceste verdure à tous feist apparoistre  
 Qu'il n'est auteur, feust par prose ou par mètre,  
 Qui sceust louer sa grand sublimité.  
 Hélas, mon Dieu, quelle félicité!  
 Quel heur! quel bien! Et quel divin présage  
 M'est advenu, de voyr vérité  
*L'arbre chargé de fleurs, fruict et ramage.*

Tant plus avant à l'entour me pourmeyne,  
 Plus je me treuve en admiration.  
 D'odeurs et fleurs l'autre branche fut pleine,  
 Plus qu'un Liban, ou le mont de Syon.  
 Les roses ont, comme l'on peult cognoistre,  
 Fort bonne odeur; œilletz et lys y metre  
 Nous y pouvons, mais leur disparité,  
 Quant à ceulz-cy, et l'imbécilité,  
 Congnoistroit bien, tout homme qui feust sage,  
 S'il pouvait voyr, comme j'ay récité,  
*L'arbre chargé de fleurs, fruict et ramage.*

La tierce branche eut, pour chose certaine,  
 De sy bon fruict multiplication,  
 Que l'on ne sçait, en ce mortel domaine,  
 Verger qu'en ayt telle munition.  
 Qui se pourra de si doulx fruict repaistre,  
 Dieu ne vouldra en ce monde permettre  
 Qu'il ayt faim, soif, ou bien mendicité.  
 Hélas! quel fruict, quelle suavité,  
 Quelle ambrosye, et quel divin bruvage,  
 Que se descrire à mon cueur incité  
*L'arbre chargé de fleurs, fruict et ramage.*

#### ENVOY.

Ce beau vergier, plain de divinité,  
 Est Paradis. L'arbre seul l'unité  
 Du très hault Dieu dénotte en ce passage;  
 Troys branches ci, monstrant la trinité,  
*L'arbre chargé de fleurs, fruict et ramage.*

—BERNARD PODIUS.

1553.

CHANT ROYAL.

LA SOULCYE.

Les Cieulx estoient par cinq cercles haulsez  
Jà commençoit la chaleur véhémence  
A descouvrir les monts et boys mussez  
En esclairant ceste terre pesante.  
Les quatre ventz habitoient près des cieulx :  
L'Eure, Zéphire et Auster pluvieux,  
Et Boreas tremblant, plein de nuyssance,  
Ayant choisy chacun sa demourance.  
L'eau arrousoit la semence terrestre  
Des animaulz nourrissant l'affluance,  
*Le petit monde estant encor à naistre.*

Six jours avoit le soleil compassez,  
La lune ès nuictz d'humeur estoit coullante,  
Ayant les cieulx jà six foys repassez,  
Rendoient la terre aux bestes verdoyantes,  
Le mouvement des cieulx melodieux  
Déclairoit l'œuvre estoc délicieux.  
O faict divin d'esternelle substance,  
Du monde rond digne circonférence,  
Laquelle a pris divinement son aistre,  
Pour les vivans certaine résidence,  
*Le petit monde estant encor à naistre.*

Ayant Japet et les scyens délaissez,  
Troy ellémens d'une main excellente,  
Lors Prométhée ha soudain embrassez,  
Desquelz forma une ymage apparente;  
Or il avoit son esprit soulcieux  
De la pollir par l'eau de myeux en mieulx,  
Jusques à tant qu'elle auroit la semblance  
D'un de ses dieux et céleste apparence  
Pour establir sur tout le monde maistre  
Comme parfait et venue d'excellence  
*Le petit monde estant encor à naistre.*

Adonc Mynerve ha ses piedz abaissez  
Et tout soudain au pothier<sup>r</sup> se présente :  
" Pour toy, dict-elle, ay les haulx cieulx laissez,

<sup>r</sup> Prometheus.

Tant mon est ymage contente.  
 Ce tyen labeur est beau et précieulx,  
 Pour l'embellir, ce que voudras des dieux  
 Pourras avoir, je t'en donne assurance.  
 Les cieulx viendront à ton obéissance,  
 Car leur feray ung tel ouvrier congnoistre,  
 Dont parferas, selon ton espérance,  
*Le petit monde estant encor à naistre."*

Hault le montant, lors ses piedz sont glissez,  
 Puis le tyra dessus; la torche ardente,  
 L'estoillé ciel, ensemble outrepassez,<sup>8</sup>  
 Il regarda la troupe triomphante;  
 Entre eulx Saturne advise morne et vieux  
 Et Jupiter au rang ambitieux;  
 Mars fouldroyant, la lune en influence,  
 Mercure cault<sup>9</sup> et Vénus en plaisance,  
 Avec Phoebus, qui là tout faict renaistre;  
 Offrant soudain à sa grand révisance  
*Le petit monde estant encor à naistre.*

#### ENVOY.

Par Prométhée entendez la grand puissance  
 De l'Éternel; par Pallas, son essence;  
 Ce Phœbus, l'âme est faisant apporoistre;  
 L'homme créé par sainte Providence  
*Le petit monde estant encor à naistre.*  
 Jusques à quand?<sup>10</sup>

—de Podius.

<sup>8</sup> The Ancients thought that there was a zone of fire interposed between us and the stars.

<sup>9</sup> *Cault*: 'cauteleux,' 'malicieux'; from *cautus* (see Littré, word *caut*).

<sup>10</sup> Certain of the poets attach *devises* to their poems and to their signatures. From the attestation of Colletet it is certain that Bernard de Poey used his in his other poems. This suggests that poets who had previously written and published poems, attached their *devises* to their poems of the Jeux Floraux. If so, it can be determined which of the poets of the Jeux Floraux had previously written. Note however that under the influence of the Renaissance Latin *devises* are adopted. (There is a case of one in Greek.) From careful perusal of the *Livre Rouge* it seems evident that when Latin *devises* came into vogue it became a fad for the poets to use a *devise* and that in this case the *devise* is no longer evidence that the contestant had already had experience in writing and publishing poems.

1560.

CHANT ROYAL.

## LA VIOLETTE.

Le tout étoit en tout et le tout amassé<sup>1</sup>  
 N'étoit qu'un lourd monceau, un gros monceau estrange  
 Sans forme et sans beaulté, nullement compassé.  
 Le ciel, la terre et l'eau, ce n'estoit que meslange  
 Le soleil ne donoit à la terre challeur  
 Le ciel si bigarré ne monstroït sa couleur,  
 Les estoilles au ciel que nous voyons errantes  
 Les estoilles des cieulx au monde estincellantes  
 N'avoient assubiecté la terre à leurs effaictz  
 Pour que Démogorgon des causes transparentes  
*Le tout de tous produict seul parfaict des parfaicts.*

Le ciel tout à la fois la terre a surpassé,  
 Des corts luisans, le corps qui quatre fois se change  
 A tout cest unyvers à la fois repassé  
 Et faict en lumyners ung immortel eschange.  
 Tout à la fois des corps le discord et rigueur  
 Se sont contrechangés en accord et douceur.  
 La mer a retiré ses trasses ondoïantes,  
 La terre aussi ses fleurs et simes verdoyantes,  
 La terre s'est rendue immobile en son sain,  
 De son sain la semence et le fonct de ses antes (?)  
*Le tout de tous produict seul parfaict des parfaicts.*

La mer est mise autour, qui de son corps glacé  
 Se plaint et par ses flots en sa tourmente venge  
 Et de ses pleurs le bruict jusques au ciel haulse  
 En sa place toutjours s'alantit et se range  
 Se reenge et alantit et désirable pleur  
 Par ses soupîrs pousse, distille, sa liqueur

Several of the Jeux Floraux poets mentioned by Colletet attach *devises* to their poems. Colletet's evidence supports the view that the *devise* was used by poets who had previously written or published poems. From a study of the *devises* it is possible to arrive at some conclusions as to who were the real poets as distinct from those who simply wrote for the Jeux Floraux.

<sup>1</sup> Note that this poem is written in *alexandrins*. The *alexandrin* was introduced into the Jeux Floraux in 1556 by Sanxon de Lacroix, who in that year won the *Eglantine*.

de sa liqueur distille aux rivières courantes  
 Aux poissons escaillés qui sont eaus nourrissantes,  
 Qui d'ung bigarrement assemblé et espais  
 L'air serain obscurcist et des ondes flotantes  
*Le tout de tous produict seul parfait des parfaits.*

Allors n'avoit encore Prométhé pourchassé  
 De suyvre les sentiers incogneus qu'au seul ange  
 Qui des cieulx l'a chétif en Caucasse chassé,  
 Et qui par le vautour sur son cueur se revenge  
 Quant vint Démagorgon pour doner la faveur  
 A Dye et à Théthis qui de mesme vigueur  
 Ouvroient le confuz de leurs mains secourantes ;  
 Pan nasquit et discorde en les troys seurs savantes,  
 Les Parques ont leur Pan pour la mytre et paix  
 Mais au siège estruit que des causes croissantes  
*Le tout de tous produict seul parfait des parfaits.*

Par ce qu'avoit esté longuement entassé  
 Le tout a démeslé ouvrant le Nil, le Gange,  
 Et l'Europe du tout qui tout avoit mussé.  
 Des cieulx aussi en hault sépara sa louenge  
 Pan à sept challumeaulx chantant des cieulx l'honneur  
 Eut deux cours corps lourd rebut d'esplendeur  
 Et couvert d'une peau à malhes odorantes  
 Il eust ses piedz de chèvre aux traces tornoyantes  
 Siringue nimphe aussi par ses amoureux traitz  
 Porchassa a Ladon ondes sources roullantes  
*Le tout de tous produict seul parfait des parfaits.*

## ALLÉGORIE.

Démagorgon est Dieu, de Pan seul gouverneur,  
 Les cornes polles sont, siringue est la grandeur  
 Du monde et Ladon ciel, ses merveilles luisantes  
 Sont au corps d'elléments estoilles esclairantes  
 Ses troys seurs sont troys temps, de Dye les extraits  
 Les corps l'accord au ciel qui des flammes daillantes  
*Le tout de tous produict seul parfait des parfaits.*

—BERNARD DE POEY DE LUC

JOHN C. DAWSON

HOWARD COLLEGE (ALA.)

EL GIARDENO OF MARINO JONATA AGNONESE:

AN ITALIAN POEM OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

(Continued from page 46)

THE POEM.—PART I

CANTO I

*From the Manuscript*

Comensa la prima parte del Giardeno,  
compilato et composto dal Angionese  
Marino, al devoti Cristiani, de fugire  
l'eterna morte.

CANTO PRIMO

DOVE JNDUCE EL GIPZO PER SOA GUIDA

- 1 Ducto al stremo del passar d'un monte,<sup>1</sup>  
el sol velato et la luce ascosa,  
havendo ognun trascorso oltra'l ponte,  
Nocte era obscura et tenebrosa;  
5 jo, solecto, montato in timore,  
dubitay al tucto dever qui far posa.  
Levato dunche da me ogne furore,  
in agero l'occhy divotamente fissi,  
dando la mente al summo redemptore.  
10 O Dio eterno, divotamente dissi,  
stendi la to mano ad me che prego;  
dal fango levarme siano li to'missi.

<sup>1</sup> Montem ponit pro iuventute.



## THE POEM

### *From the Incunabulum*

Comensa la prima parte del Giardino  
compilato et composto dal Angionese  
Marino Yonata al divoti et fideli Chri-  
stiani de fugire leterna morte.

### CANTO PRIMO

DOVE INDUCE EL GIPSO PER SUA GUIDA

Ducto al stremo del passar de un monte  
El sol velato et la luce ascosa  
Havendo ogniuno trascorso oltral ponte  
Nocte era obscura et tenebrosa  
io solecto montato in timore  
dubitai al tucto dover qui far posa  
Levato duncche da me ogne furore  
in aëro locchi devotamente fissi  
dondo <sup>1</sup> la mente al summo redentore

*(Continues from the manuscript)*

O dio eterno divotamente dissi  
stendi la tua mano ad me che prego  
dal fango levarme siano tuoi missi

- In darne to luce non me far nego,  
et ch' io non pera in tal duro calle  
15 qual tu vidi, ove amaro so' et sego.  
Di po' ala terra dedi le mie spalle;  
che 'l sol tornasse dubitoso stava  
che illustrasse tucti munti et valle.  
Laffandati pensieri poy qui posava;  
20 la nocte trascorrendo fe suo corso,  
apresso di ley el di se dimostrava.  
Como quilluy che da tavani e morso,  
da vespe, da mosconi et serpentelli,  
tal stimolato sostineval mio dorso.  
25 Non altrimenti se torcon li zitelli:  
mirando lo magistro lor saguacta,  
con gran timore vando davanto elli.  
Tal mia mente al tucto era macta:  
mirando dyana subito confortay  
30 como da matre chel filgiol allacta.  
Li membri da terra presto su levay:  
non senza dubio prisi un camino  
ove senterì ne luce yo trovay.  
Non credo che fortuna ne destino,  
35 ma solo al salvatore che non volse,  
io tornasse al tucto qui tapino.  
La scurita davanti messe tolse;  
locchy volvendo vidi un gran piano,  
tornay giocundo ove prima me dolse.\*  
40 Et quantunche fosse da me ancho lontano,  
lo camin trascorsi al piu quanto possecti  
ad voler del rocti sensi farne sano.  
Quanno gionto fuy un pocho ristecti;  
ad mirar me pussi tra quella verdura  
45 che tucto con gioia al cor messi mecti.  
Piu de mille in mezo tal pianura  
odorifer arboscelli se mirava;  
vera mostrava de giocundita figura.  
Li mie occhy tra larbori voltava;  
50 gente felice con belli adornamenti  
con gran feste ad tal onbre dimorava.

\* Seu in corde.

- Dubitoso restay tral quel tante genti,  
 et per saper alcun di quey chi fosse  
 in ver di loro fuy coi passi spenti.
- 55 Parol qui se faceva alte et grosse  
 di chose mundane, el piu di fortuna :  
 subito il penso al cor me percosse  
 Inver quiluy che mecho sempre bruna  
 haverla secho infelice et torta
- 60 diceva ; che may nel mundo una  
 Felicita non haveva, ancho morta  
 al tucto opposita era verso luy :  
 sequir pero voleva la so sorta.
- Locchyolveva se qui era quistuy,  
 65 pero che cognito mecho era molto,  
 quanto altri sia con qualunca altruy.  
 Et quando ad uno arbor dedi el volto  
 io el vidi giocundo et festizare,  
 fui allora del primo timor tolto.
- 70 Non dubitay alloro maproproquare :  
 davanto me fi, alluy me mostray,  
 dedi sosta al mio duro andare.
- Luy in me et io luy miray  
 sicud infantem cernit eius mater ;
- 75 senza restare alluy cosi parlay :  
 Conqueror tecum, Nicolae,<sup>a</sup> dulcis frater,  
 ut bene nosti, observare jam denegas  
 res que fuere promisse ter et quater.
- Memini me ergo, cum tua mente pergas,  
 80 pluries dississe, amica mea fortuna :  
 modo sub umbra ipsius fata peregas.
- Qual signo di stelle over di luna  
 qui ducto te ave, te prego me chiara,  
 che sempre expulisti soa veste bruna.
- 85 Piu volte mecho la nominasti amara ;  
 lamentandote de ley te sforsavi  
 non esser da ley piu portato in guara.
- Como quilloro che son posti in navi,  
 trascorrendo il mare per venir in terra,  
 90 et ad mirarla tucti se fan savi,

<sup>a</sup> Iste fuit Nicolaus Giptius de Maccla et notarius ad seculum.

- Tal qui Cola ad mirar se afferra :  
voleva di me prender maravelge,  
io, credendo, trascorsa haver la guerra.  
Inver di luy volgi le mie celge,  
95 folli da me noto como pervenuto  
quivi era, secundo ho facto velge.  
Allora luy : or qual pregio, or qualtributo  
qui ducto tave ad mirar me che sego  
tra tante genti di tal camin perduto ?  
100 Quistoro <sup>4</sup> tucti che in tal piano vego  
sonno errati, pero non til mostrare,  
ca dogne verita te fareben nego.  
Allor me spinsi per volerme propinquare,  
la man me stese et la mia li porsì,  
105 ognun nel volto volemoli basare.  
Per non restare, subito me accorsi  
che qui se faceva ; mossi tal dimando,  
et in quistoro lo mio aspecto scorsi.  
Et luy ad me : qui se parla de lando,  
110 secundo ale fiате ho techo dicto,  
et per partire da qui quistor non stando.  
Narrar te vo di quel che tu may scripto :  
opinion de vulgo e fortuna sola,<sup>5</sup>  
pero fa mecho parlanno vegni stricto.  
115 Non vasta al cello, solo per che vola :  
sel fructo non prendesse per cevarse  
notrirse non porey di quel chenuola.  
Volse da tal locho poy assentarse ;  
per un camino el dolce passo prese,  
120 per nisun modo da me volse cessarse.  
Dimenticho quistoro qui star in palese  
vende ad me dicendo : ora me sequi :  
retro li tindi per farne qui cortese.  
Io dubitay non ritrovasse Strequi,<sup>6</sup>  
125 che dispiacioto in terra non mabesse  
al desiderio suo, come Birequi.

<sup>4</sup> Hic demonstrat quod isti hic existentes loquebantur de rebus mundanis et erant in mundo miserie, et ideo noluit ut se ostenderet eis, quum verba melliflua habebant, intus vero amara ut primum, in omnibus rebus mundanis.

<sup>5</sup> Fortuna nil aliud est nisi opinio vulgi.

<sup>6</sup> Strequi et Birequi erant duo germani. Volentes dividere hereditatem et non

- Ma soa volunta mavea si messe  
 cal mundo non vorey altro compagno,  
 se quil chel tucto po mel concidesse.
- 130 Trascurse el piano et un sentier silvagno  
 ebe trovato, et qui presto si caccia,  
 tal che un pocho rimorsi el mio lagno.  
 Et ansi che movesse altra traccia :
- 135 fortuna, dixe, de vitro ave substansa ;  
 se ben se guarda, allora ben se straccia.  
 Cognoscho quiluy che la vol per mansa,  
 esser necato da medicho imperito,  
 venir cecho, se di ley ben avansa.\*
- 140 In quel or ti narro fa che si ardito :  
 bestial vita nominar si po fortuna  
 pero che nisun fermabil mante sito.  
 Alcun che la pella esser necta o bruna  
 move se contra le delicie superne,  
 pero che nulla se appella socto luna.
- 145 Con sapiensa manteni tal caverne ;  
 con virtu lei vincer tu porrai  
 fin che dato serai in cose eterne.  
 Se pur ti scalda el cocenti rai  
 lassa il vulgo prender tal novelle,
- 150 lo qual al fine decepto mirarai.  
 Tucti piacente meran tal favelle,  
 et mirando quistui per lasper diserto,  
 ove sentier non era ne signo di stelle,  
 Veloce giva multo docto et sperto ;
- 155 io retro stanco del camin umbroso  
 volsi chiarirme di quel che mera oferto.  
 O Gipso, dixi, ti prego famme gioso :  
 ritornamo in dietro lassando tal camino  
 lo qual al tucto facto me e noioso.

essent similiter concordēs Strequis dolose duxit Birequem ad quendam sapientem et pro habendo consilio. Quo habito redeuntēs venerunt per viam quandam ubi erat quoddam magnum precipitium, per quod intendentes, predictus Strequis fecit eundem Birequem precipitare. Itaque idem Birequis fractis capite et cruribus mortuus fuit. Et strequis rediens et volens totam habere hereditatem captus a iudice suspensus est patibulo.

\* From verse 139 Canto One to verse 114 Canto Two the text is copied from

- 160 Grispar mi fa del dorso il mio crino,  
    pero vogliam andar a nostra stansa;  
    lassando el scuro tornem al serino.  
    Secundo che in nuy stato ce usanza  
    parlarimo in prosa et quando in versi  
165 como el tempo che trascorre avansa.  
    Lassam quistoro che vando qui perversi.

*From the Incunabulum*

## CANTO SECONDO

## DOVE DICE CHE COSA E MORTE ET DONNE VENDE

- 1 Silentio fi, et lui ad me fo volto:  
    fratel, me disse, par che tu ignorante  
    si de quel per che tu qui mai colto.  
    Prima pero de qui ce partam davante  
5 sappi chel mio officio ministrando,  
    ove tu sai per tornar aiutante,  
    Da quilor che andaro me persequitando  
    la morte iongendo el corpo lassar me fe;  
    in delicto posai ogne affando.  
10 Or pensa quale io tornai ver me,  
    credendo me esser con persona viva,  
    et non con morto como qui conve.  
    Da longe el denti bacter se udiva.  
    tremante, lagrimante, angoscioso, smorto,  
15 credendo di luce far mia vita priva,  
    Non pensava piu aver di salute porto.  
    el Gipzo che mi vede di sensi tolto  
    aiuto prestarme fo presto accorto.  
    Pero che de virtu ilgera tucto folto  
20 fe mie sensi alquanto viconfortare,  
    et in miration era tucto involto,  
    Mosse la voce tremante ad parlare  
    ca lui tornare al mundo non posseva.  
    et dissi: o morte, como ardisti fare  
25 Quale accasone in te seolveva  
    el Gipso levato aver di questa vita,  
    che non venire a te ancho diveva?

the incunabulum, owing to the missing leaf 2 in the manuscript, as it was said in the description of the manuscript.

- Tu si fallace, ingorda, et tradita,  
velatrice del ochi el mundo scoprenti,  
30 dogni scurezza si facta infinita.  
El Gipso ad me con tal rasonamenti:  
in ver di lei trascurrer non volere;  
ala tua voglia non dar tanti spenti.  
Se pur di lei tu voy ben sapere:  
35 felice, e beata, et gloriosa,  
iustamente menestra suo potere.  
Non dir pero lei sia ingiuriosa,  
cha non averisti via di veritate;  
farisci tua mente in cio tenebrosa.  
40 Io dico che non dico vanitate,  
risposio, ancho parlo et dico vero:  
lei may porto presto de sanitate;  
Sempre dimora in color scuro et negro;  
come latra non se sape ove sia,  
45 ne saper se po alcuno suo sentero.  
Et mai alcuno possecte aver via  
mirarla un poco, o per parlar seco  
a darli lode o dirli villania.  
Pero se al presente tu la lodi mecho  
50 maravegla me non do, cha si suo servo;  
non porgetai ad me algio per fecho.  
Allor lui, che cognobe el mio nervo  
essere alterato, me parlo, et disse:  
se pur voli inquesto io ti servo.  
55 Tu parli che mai se vede ne se scrisse  
alcun che la mirasse; pero, se tu voi  
quel che al mundo fe nisun che visse,  
Io ti mostraro lei, se tu poi  
un poco piu avanti spenger tuo passi,  
60 che chiarirte porrai ben di tanti loi.  
Et io con mie pensier rocti et lassi:  
como poro quistei tal mirare,  
che non sian membri de spirito cassi?  
Et lui con parole dolce ad replicare:  
65 non dubitar che lei e si benegna,  
piu bella che donna si possa trovare.

- Credo che lei ad te si fara degna,  
parlar li porai, da lei chiarirte,  
pero sequire in tua volunta vegna.
- 70 Et se udir vorai, lei pora dirte,  
pero che in me non darisci credensa  
di quel che porei nel mundo venire.
- Et io che sentecti intrare ad mensa  
volsi chiarirme che cosa quistei era ;
- 75 lui rispose et io ad audiensa.  
Segregamento del cose in lumera  
et congionte se appella sol questei,  
non si movendo bassa ne altera.
- De cio sirai chiarito pur da lei
- 80 se mirar la voi da faccia ad faccia ;  
vere terai le opinioni mei.
- Et io : or per che lei abe tal tracia  
venir al mundo, e non so suo nascimento,  
et continuamente ognomo alacia ?
- 85 Mosse lui ad me tal rasonamento :  
la morte al mundo per invidia vende  
di quelui che mai trovase contento.
- El dimonio l' omo ad tentar tende,  
el qual, tentato, allora prese alel,
- 90 prendendol morte nel mundo sue calende.
- Sì como tu ben sai, tucto ciò vale  
per le parol dicte da l' alto factore  
a l' omo, di sua vita, el como, el quale.
- Et volendome cavar ancho d' errore
- 95 a lui parlai, et dissi : or mi chiara,  
però che senti unde ve' cotal amore.
- A la mia mente, chilge tanto amara,  
accurri con verità, per darli aita,  
et di saperlo ad me non è discara.
- 100 Unde tal morte, la qual è infinita,  
exorta qui fo nel cose terrene ?  
da qual prese al inicio sua partita ?
- Procese da quillui che tucto bene  
fe', di nulla creando luniverso ?
- 105 over da quillui che labisso tene ?



- Et se da quelei che dal summerso  
tentata fo, et lei di quel magnao,  
facendo el mandato tornar riverso?  
Over da quilluy che non curao  
110 magnar, tornando poi inobediente,  
ove non veniva allora ingolao?  
Lui allora con vulto soridente:  
a tal dimanda risposta non si tarda,  
quantunche credo in te cio sia lucente.  
115 \* Pero mira col to intellecto, et guarda<sup>†</sup>  
che ley non vende dal divin pastore:  
de cio la scriptura non aver busarda.  
Qui te chiara di quel che se quetal core,  
et de sapere toa volunta dicesti,  
120 benche piu alto portarebe fiore.  
\* Dal dimonio, como prima intendesti,  
questey aperse qui nel mundo lala:  
cio per scriptura chiarirte ben potresti.  
Ancho questey ebe so secunda scala  
125 dala prima donna in alterecza lata,  
che da ley in qua nisun se dismala.  
Ancho da quiluy che gran calata  
fe al magnare di quel pomo veto,  
al cuy fo poy tal porta serrata.  
130 Ad te pero non e questo secreto:  
el vero parlo, et busia non ce entra;  
quil che va pur ansi, non po dir areto.  
Omay al tucto fa to mente sveltra:  
cava da ley qualunqua pensier greve;  
135 qui non volere urdir tela feltra.

\* Beginning with this verse we follow again the manuscript, from leaf 3 after the missing leaf of which we have spoken in the description of the manuscript.

<sup>†</sup> Declarat quod a deo ista mors exorta non fuit. Sapientia 1. deus mortem non fecit, nec letatur in perditione morientium.

\* Dicitur hic quod primo fuit mors exorta a diabulo invidente. Sapientia 2. Deus creavit hominem inexterminabilem. Invidia autem diabuli intravit mors in orbem terrarum. Itaque a muliere superbiens volens esse dea. Ecclesiaste 25. A muliere initium peccati et per ipsam omnes moriuntur Itaque ab hac inobediente. Romanis 5. Unius hominis delicto mors regnavit etc.

- \* Dogni broctura fa la facci lieve:  
venime sequi, che tu lamiraray  
tal esser liale che ognun riceve.  
Non fare como lamico che tu say:  
140 incredulo dimora de veder questey;  
non se accorge che serra posto allay.  
Rimossi allora tucti pensier mey  
sintendo da quistuy esser ripreso,  
et pentuto con mie colpe me rendey.  
145 Et dixi: del to dire non sto sospeso;  
se stato ci so mende rendo in colpa,  
per che credo aver aley offeso.  
Aley porgo le mie ossa et polpa;  
esserli servo et socto posto al tucto;  
150 pero te prego a ley fa me scolpa.  
Et per poter qui prender alcun fructo  
piace ad te volerme ley mostrare,  
et ancho ad me, pero che so qui conducto.  
Or cha te piace, te intendo sequitare;  
155 per dio ti prego, ansi che me lassi,  
mica in timore volerme lassare.  
Ove te piace moviro mie passi;  
po che massecuri, techo securo vegno  
la ove dici che non dimora fassi.  
160 Moviti oro chio retro te tegno.

## CANTO TERZO

DOVE VEDE LA MORTE IN FIGURA ET LEY. E. SOA GUIDA,  
ET DONNA ET MAGESTRA.

- 1 Sole el sacerdote in su laltare  
signar el populo del signo beato,  
et benediction da luy fa portare:  
Tal el Gipzo, senza far altro meato,  
5 in me volto, tre fiate me signao,  
et poscia me ebe sul volto basato.  
Cognobi che dio de cio rengratiao;  
ebeme poy preso con giocunda vista,  
et dolcemente chel sequisse parlao.

\* quod dicit Munda animan tuam de peccatis et habebis mortem felicem.

- 10 Io non volendo piu lanima trista  
sconsular di quello che ley desira,  
pero che la sento de gererchia mista.  
Luy se mosse, et tral buscho se tira,  
et yo retro como persona viva,  
15 per veder melgio quel che qui se mira.  
El buscho trascorrendo un pogio saliva,  
spengendo i passi senza dir parole,  
finche arrivo di sopra lalta riva.  
Spargeva so ragi per luniverso il sole  
20 quando sul pogio il mio ducha si pone,  
et yo qui fermo como quistuy vole.  
Mossi el viso, et vidi piu persone  
qui dimorar, cantando averso averso  
chel vivente in secula allor perdone.  
25 Porse il Gipzo la mano di traverso,  
et dixe: mira Johanni, mira Martino,  
et vidi Bonifatius quil converso.  
Foron quistoro del officio divino  
con lor compagna, quale lli dimora;  
30 la chiesa ebero da sera in matino.  
Quistor dalaltro lato fanno aurora  
son quilloro che ebero nostro regno;  
ancho multo se riverisce et honora.  
Un de quilloro scolpito in un legno,  
35 laltro in lapida, laltro in scriptura,  
et laltro e quilluy del pil sanguegno,  
Mirati hay et posti in to cura.  
quistaltri son principi, ducha, et baroni,  
chel universo ebero in armadura.  
40 Gentili, villani, ricchi et beffoni  
la morte qui al suo voler li porta,  
quantunche faccia in bene o mal sermoni.  
Non creder pero in te sia cosa torta  
quanno te cavara de mundana vita,  
45 ca ley el fa senza altra scorta.  
Et yo che cognobi aver qui salita  
dixi: o morte, quanno quistor accidisti?  
pero che lli era compagna infinita.

- Ove, dissi poy, quel che tu dissisti?  
50 o vero Gipzo, chiarame, sel te piace.  
mostrame queley per la qual venisti  
Mossese un pocho et in suo dir tace;  
po dixe: mira che ad te ven queley.  
venir la vidi poy multo vivace.  
55 Levay locchy a volere mirar ley,  
pero che da longi apparme disformata,  
et dubitoso subito me rendey.  
Multo mia persona resto affandata,  
lassa et stancha; me fe venir male  
60 quanto may fosse poy che fo formata.  
Io non vidi may un corpo tale,  
ne may mirare lo possecte altrui,  
ne il simile viventi mirar vale.  
Al tucto me firmay in ver quistuy  
65 che qui ad mirare ducto me aveva,  
fin che ad questey apropinquata fuy.  
Poy assicurato li occhy scorgeva  
ad tal figura che me fe tremare,  
et in so corpo duy vulti se videva.  
70 Lun era lucente che ragi solea dare;<sup>10</sup>  
laltro era scuro con occhy di focho,<sup>11</sup>  
che ogne vidente faceva lacrimare.  
A la nera bocha vidi aver locho  
uno acuto cortello, per lanciare  
75 ad torre li sensi, non micha per iocho.  
A la felice vista vidi portare  
una giorlanda de olenti rose,  
et ala nera di serpe amare.  
Unala lucente di penne pretiose,  
80 et una nera in color di carbone,  
che may credo mirassese tal cose.  
Haveva in so mano un gran falcione;  
dal cosse in giu un vento se mirava  
che in questey ad portar se pone.  
85 Dal lato giocundo felice se portava,  
era obscura dalaltro nero colore:  
secundo li vulti duy colur mostrava.

<sup>10</sup> Pretiosa in aspectu domini mors sanctorum eius.<sup>11</sup> Mors peccatorum pexima.

- Cognobi questey aver di gran valore,  
 et soa possa sparge in tucto il mondo  
 90 ove sempre dimora con grande amore.  
 Voltose el Gipzo con volto giocondo,  
 parla, me dice, se da ley desiri  
 saper el vero et alleviar el pondo.  
 Et yo carchato de dol senza martiri,  
 95 nel volto me signay di santa croce,  
 non senza pena, lacreme et sospiri.\*  
 La morte che avanti erame feroce  
 mirandome signare in cotal riva  
 prima chio parlasse mosse tal voce:  
 100 Como qui venuta si anima viva?  
 qual mosso e stato senza io portarti?  
 over ti facta del tuo corpo priva?  
 Voluto hai qui ad me avecinarti  
 ove mai vende alcun col suo dosso?  
 105 et di santa croce to visto signarti,  
 La qual in beateza fe suo mosso,  
 da cecita del error te liberao  
 ancho in luce el tenebre dir ti posso  
 El debellati quieti te adunao  
 110 et fe a dio congiunte multe gente  
 di ben di pace firmamento presentao.  
 In cio pero, sel tuo sensi non son lenti,  
 ben fai dando al creator la mente  
 ove il perduti diventan contenti.  
 115 Parevame qui dimorar con stente,  
 si la parola et sensi se dilongaro.  
 non conoscendo passato ne presente.  
 Tornato mera ogni dolce amaro  
 ma el gipzo che me guarda dice:  
 120 quel che miri mi par ti sia discaro.  
 Non far ti prego de pigricia radice;  
 parla con audacia et non timere  
 se tornar voi in piano tue pendice.

\* From verse 96 Third Canto through verse 81 Fourth Canto, the text is copied from the incunabulum owing to a missing leaf in the manuscript, as it was said in the description of the manuscript.

- Alora tremante parlai con potere :  
125 el terrore et amareza di questei  
occupa li sensi, volonta, el videre.  
Tu non ben parli, dice ad me quelei ;  
giocunda so, benigna, et gratiosa,  
tanto che misun fuge al occhi mei.  
130 Et per confortare la mente tenebrosa  
lassai timore ; pur col senso rocto  
dissi : quel che parlo non e nova cosa.  
Che per farne al tue parol disocto  
dico che gran terrore da te discerno  
135 aver crudel et terribil conducto.  
Mino non veni di state ne di verno ;  
el tue ale spandi in ogni parte ;  
esser terrosa io sempre te discerno.  
Non vorria se dicesse da calda arte  
140 io mi mova tal cosa rasonare,  
et ancho di cio voler domandarte.  
Certe ben comprendo lomo dubitare  
arme, cortello, naufragio, et focho,  
pero che soli terrore sempre dare.  
145 Pareme pero non si amara pocho ;  
et quantunche qui poco cosa sacia  
ti prego prendi mie parole agiocho.  
El tuo terrore ognaltro fora cacia ;  
sete lultimo pero me pari crudele  
150 de ti prego benigna mostrar ti piacia.  
El tuo cerebro mi pare ora di fele ;  
movi el tuo parole pur di vento :  
tornaroctel presto in sapor di mele.  
Fo prima chiaro tuo posto argomento :  
155 el timor mio e ultimo a quilor  
che infidelita hano in lor talento.  
Ancho al peccatori senza dimoro,  
per lo dubio di la soctana riva,  
ca sonno fora del eterno consistoro  
160 Non possendo fare lor anima viva.

## CANTO QUARTO

DOVE EXCLAMA CONTRA LA MORTE. ET FA CERTE DECLARATIONI.

- 1 Ascoltando dimorava con lochio fiso  
 questei che sito in terra non faceva,  
 che pur mirava sempre nel mio viso.  
 Sio so amara, con sue parol diceva,  
 5 per liniusti dir si po che son dannati,  
 levati da terra che lor possedeva.  
 Felice so a iusti, fideli, et beati,  
 il qual al mundo non dubita morire  
 pero che di me securi son trovati.  
 10 Ama el beato sua vita finire  
 per essere valente al eterna vita,  
 si como al fatigante suo servire.  
 Se duncha per me non si fa tal partita  
 nisun porra videre divinitate,  
 15 ne al summo bene avere salita.  
 Per me si va al eterna maiestate,  
 si son felice, ora un pocho pensa,  
 per me lanime a dio son presentate.  
 Porterò ancho piu cibo a tua mensa  
 20 per farte sicuro, et tu discoltar degno  
 ti fa, che di fructo non sera senza.  
 El mio Gipzo di cio ti fe segno  
 io sia spartimento di chi se congionte;  
 pero chiarirte al presente vegno.  
 25 Pensa un poco et toccha tua fronte,  
 che quactro vere rason qui si porta,  
 abundevel piu che aqua in fonte.  
 La prima rason colli santi fo orta,  
 et loro dicti qui tucti maita;  
 30 me accompagnando fano vera scorta.  
 Do ala secunda natural sua vita  
 lautorita de artisti che suave  
 qui se duce et sempre e udita.  
 Non bisogna per la terza andar in nave,  
 35 ca iphilosophi dicon tanto aperto  
 che qui per dechiarezza non e grave.

- Farocce ancho de la quarta certo :  
al dyalogo la trovi de san Agustino.  
fa che si chiarito tra piano ed erto
- 40 Cha li bruti finisce il suo camino ;  
la carne more el spirito non fa vivo :  
delomo non, canon finisce suo distino.  
Non fare di tal dicto ne si privo :  
firma la mente assai et non poco,
- 45 che tu ancho de cio sera passivo.  
Tornome il vulto in color di focho  
pensando che diveva lassar mia carne,  
lassare il mundo tornar in altro loco.  
Pero de piu cose volse domandare,
- 50 et dissi : o donna che mi tene il freno,  
chel spirito da me vorrai cavarne,  
Chiamarte impia non posso far meno ;  
quantunche a me el tue rason piace  
parme il tuo falcion porte veleno.
- 55 Le signe o menacce che vui se face  
ne pregi, ne doni, ne promissioni  
fare potrebe tra vui porte pace.  
Da te nisuno prende guiderdone ;  
ioveni prendi, vetrani, et ogne gente,
- 60 si tucti son pazi o vero salamone.  
Ad ogni uno tu ti fai presente ;  
di persona vai senza missagi ;  
cave del mundo sempre ogni vivente.  
Corpi humani di te non fan sagi ;
- 65 non porta premio chi di te si fida,  
ca sempre spingi con tucto toi raggi.  
Operar si non pote altra recida ;  
el tuo veleno porgei sepultura ;  
contra la vita si fallace guida.
- 70 Gemai non trovo de nisun ventura  
chabesse date, poi che lai portato  
la ove hai et manteni tua cura,  
Che fosse al mundo un poco tornato  
adir qual sia lacason che vuy
- 75 del mundo ove so labij levato.



- Tanta crudelita non credo fa altrui  
 quanta vui usate con larga fronte,  
 et ogni di piu farla non te frui.  
 In te de misericordia non e fonte;  
 80   perduto ne e ogne braccio et ramo;  
      di crudelita mi pare si fermo ponte.  
 \* Ognun tu prindi como pesce alamo;  
      in un momento tucti li fay morti,  
      et factay da la creation dadamo.  
 85   Guardome alora con so occhy accorti;  
      un pocho lo falcion mosse, che credecki  
      debesse i mie sensi fare scorti.  
 Obidiente me dedi quanto possecti,  
      piu chel peccator non fa ad penitensa,  
 90   et genochiato davanti un peczo stecti.  
 Accurri, dixi, per dio, con to clemensa  
      famme chiaro, et tramme da pagura  
      ansi che portare me volgi ad to mensa.  
 Pieta usa, et abij di me cura;  
 95   volunta me scorre, pero nol mirare,  
      ca duro me pare star in sepoltura.  
 Volendome ley allora confortare,  
      mirandome tremante a gran pagura,  
      con soa boccha comincio cotal parlare:  
 100 <sup>12</sup> Exalta qui da terra la to cura;  
      intendi et odi; non far lo to cor sasso,  
      et de star mecho al tucto tassicura.  
 Non ti faro pero nisun fracasso  
      di quel che ansi hay di me parlato  
 105   se veloce vado, o con lento passo.  
 Et vo che prima si da me chiarato  
      lultima dimanda che hay qui preposta,  
      dicendo che da me e nisun tornato.  
 Ora per te stesso pensa la risposta,  
 110   che farti bisogna del soprano chioistro,  
      et ancho del soptano con vela nascosta.

\* Beginning with this verse we follow again the manuscript from leaf 17 after the missing leaf of which we have spoken in the description of the manuscript.

<sup>12</sup> respondit mors.

- Cha se lagente ignora lesser nostro,  
da nuy volendo aspectar messaggi,  
in vanita se leva lo penser vostro.
- 115 La vera scriptura spande li so ragi,  
et li propheti ne parla tanto chiaro  
che ben lontende quillor che son sagi.  
Et ancho de Epulon non e divaro <sup>13</sup>  
la risposta che ebe da quil patriarcha
- 120 quando yhesu lo mostro lo bon Lazaro.  
Ad che bisogna da me nisun travarcha,  
ca providensa gia e stata grande,  
da quilor che seppe ben menar lavarcha.  
In un vento <sup>14</sup> pero la to vita se spande
- 125 la qual te falle, et non yo verace  
tucte do ad un sapor mie vivande.  
Po me rivolto al toe parol mordace,  
del quale maravelgia non ne prendo,  
ca dentillecto non si ancho vivace.
- 130 Saper lo divi, et con risposta tresendo,  
<sup>15</sup> dal mio iudicio declinar non se pote  
con losegne, ne con doni promectendo.  
Levo ad ognuno de so carne gote,  
et iustamente non lassando etate
- 135 el mio falcione ogne erba percote.  
Or pensa un pocho ala deitate,  
che cristo yhesu da terra yo levay  
non lassando pero chera divinitate.
- <sup>16</sup> Impia me dice Bernardo tu ben say,  
140 et micha dignita yo pretermecto,  
ad nisun lontana may me troveray.

<sup>13</sup> Dicit quod a morte nullus revertitur ut diceret nobis ea que ibi aguntur. Unde dicitur de epulone qui rogavit abraam patriarcham ut miceret lazarum ad annunzandum de eis fratribus suis. Qui noluit, sed ait, habent Moysen et prophetas, audiant illos. Et ita dicit hic quod scriptura docet cuncta necessaria.

<sup>14</sup> Job. 7. Memento quia ventus est vita mea, et non revertetur oculus meus ut videat bona.

<sup>15</sup> Non possumus declinare a mortis indicio prece, nec forte, nec munere, nec promissione, nec adulatione.

<sup>16</sup> Dicit enim Bernardus, in cartula. Nulli mors impia parcit. tam juvenes rapit quam senes. nullius miseretur. non parcit sexui. non parcit etati. sed falce sua omnes ut erbam secat. nec christus sibi ipsi. nec proprio filio pepercit propter quod dicit propheta in psalmo. Quis est homo qui vivet et non videbit mortem eruet animam suam de manu inferi.

- Chi iniusta me dice falsifical decto:  
 fallace serey se lassasse alcuno,  
 pero che ne tolci cristo benedecto.  
 145 Non voler piu parlare in color bruno;  
 non far la mente si di calda cera  
 chel papiro consuma a uno a uno.  
 148 Felice quiluy per cui fine vera.

## CANTO QUINTO

DOVE DECLARA LA GENERATIONE DE MORTI. ET SE LANIME DE  
 MORTI SE POTE LIBERAR DA PENA.

- 1 <sup>17</sup> Leterno factor de le create cose  
 largitor per gratia li soy doni  
 dimora spectando al soe pose  
 Lanime vada ali superni boni <sup>18</sup>  
 5 ala cui fine fe creando loro  
 et non mirasse giu li scori soni  
 Se altro divaro procede tra loro  
 augumento gli ve de magior pena  
 caminar volendo tra altro lavoro  
 10 Et ca speczar non cura tal forte catena  
 firmata et a coniontion ricolta  
 in dannatione perde sangue et vena  
 In toe opre <sup>19</sup> fa sempre dedi volta  
 cal peccato cavaray di to fronte  
 15 et lanima de luy serra sciolta  
 Fa la firmi in la dolcezza fonte  
 et bianche torneray le brune pende  
 per melgior salire al superno monte  
 In chiarirte mia volunta saccende  
 20 et darte via per la quale quando  
 da qui levarte mia volunta comprende

<sup>17</sup> Quidquid deus nobis largitur, non dat ex debito sed de singulari gratia et ad nostram salutem.

<sup>18</sup> Est notum quod ubi maior est coniunctio ibi maior est pena. Unde maior pena est dividere brachium a corpore quam digitum a manu. quia ibi est maior coniunctio. Et quia inter animam et corpus maxima est coniunctio. ideo in separatione anime a corpore est maxima pena. Unde ergo quia cum inter deum et animam sit maxima coniunctio ideo in separatione anime a deo erit dampnatis maxima pena.

<sup>19</sup> Ecclesiaste. 7. In omnibus operibus tuis memorare novissima tua et in eternum non peccabis.

- Possi al celo caminar cantando  
fervente sappi ad cristo sol servire <sup>20</sup>  
tucte opre aluy solo dando
- 25 Et luy el merito sol retribuere <sup>21</sup>  
del delitie tra langeli beati  
che in eterno non curan fenire  
Se del mundo prendisci soi meati  
decepto restaria il to dosso
- 30 ca del so doni merita soi nati  
Veramente dicho quanto dirti posso  
sel peccatore pecca mortalmente <sup>22</sup>  
expecta piu che altril mio mosso  
Et non solo del corpo qui presente
- 35 ma bisogna che lanima ne vada  
a gastigarse con la perduta gente  
Ca non curo de driczar soa strada  
offender a quil suo summo bene  
bisogna pero ale stride cada
- 40 Et dio eterno che mente in cio tene  
con patiensia dimora chel peccato  
nullato sia, et torne in far bene  
Et con gratia, <sup>23</sup> ancho con suo mandato  
che con virtute del spirito santo
- 45 sia de tal fango necto levato  
Queto un poco, et yo dalaltro canto  
nel volto del Gipzo pussi a mirare  
lo qual con ley era qui davanto  
Et soridendo comincio a parlare <sup>24</sup>
- 50 se a me pareo cotal rason vere  
et como era in questey mirare

<sup>20</sup> Qui in vita ista pro christo laborant, a christo sunt premiandi Et qui laborant pro mundo, sunt a mundo premiandi. pro quibus christus ait. Receperunt mercedem suam.

<sup>21</sup> In mundo spes nulla boni, spes nulla salutis

Sola salus servire deo, sunt cetera fraudes.

<sup>22</sup> Dicit hic. Si homo peccat mortaliter. meretur mortem, non tantum corporis, sed etiam anime, ymmo meretur dampnationem, quia offendit deum qui est bonum infinitum. Et cum deus expectat et substat patienter.

<sup>23</sup> Dicit quod deus jubet sua gratia et potestate peccatorum vincula solvi virtute spiritus sancti.

<sup>24</sup> Loquitur Gipthus.

- Ancho se me parean bianche o nere  
 et como me gratavan tal favelle  
 et se ancho udir voleva o vedere
- 55 Et yo che sentiva ognora piu belle  
 sentense venire pur da queley  
 et multiplicare comal cel le stelle  
 Mirava el Gipzo et mirava ley  
 al cui parlar volesse non sapeva
- 60 sci eran da longi li pensier mey  
 Poy con lenta voce me moveva  
 al Gipzo dixi che tal rasonamenti  
 multo mia mente in alto scorgeva  
 Ancho mie sensi tornavan contenti
- 65 pero piu in parlar massecurava  
 linfiammati damor raji cocenti  
 Con umil cervice parlar cominciava  
 et dixi o donna con riverensa grande  
 la qual in eterno li fedil tamava
- 70 Mea volunta altucto se spande  
 poy che del star techo so sicuro  
 et volerme qui ionto al to bande  
 Mecho stesso gia so deliberato  
 dalcune verita che me son prive
- 75 voler da to sentensa esser chiarato  
 Lequalen vuy sempre se fan vive  
 pero dir mia lengua gia comensa  
 di quel che ley tucte son passive  
 Chiarame primo dicho con riverensa
- 80 <sup>28</sup> quante generation son di morti  
 famme de cio udire toa sentensa  
 Guardommi la donna con so occhy accorti  
 dicendo <sup>29</sup> or vegio ca te fay vivace  
 voler chiarire li to sensi torti
- 85 Farocte pero de tucto aver pace  
 scopri la mente et fa labi aperta  
 ca ben scolta quilluy che ben tace  
 Non voler con occhy star socto coverta  
 nel volto me mira che seray chiarito
- 90 et to dimanda farro presto erta

<sup>28</sup> Hic queritur. Quot sunt genera mortuorum.

<sup>29</sup> Respondet domina mors.

Tu voy sapere ho da te odito  
 de nostri morti lor generationi  
 se in bene, o male trovase finito  
<sup>27</sup> Sappi che son quatro lor sermoni  
 95 secundo verita che a cio in also  
 li primi<sup>28</sup> sonno sopra ogni boni  
 Chengratia et gloria tenno il valso  
 laltri<sup>29</sup> son sempre sopra tucti mali  
 senza gratia in colpa anno rivalso  
 100 Sappi chel tersi<sup>30</sup> sonno quillor cotali  
 che in bonta sonno di mezo grado  
 non in gloria ma in gratia anno ali  
 Di mezo mali laltri<sup>31</sup> sonno in guado  
 che senza gratia et colpa actuale  
 105 vanno ad visitar lo tuo Corado<sup>32</sup>  
 Vo che sappi<sup>32</sup> secundo che cio vale  
 che tucto boni sonno al paradiso  
 et tucti mali vanno al gran male  
 Li mezi boni purga el so viso  
 110 et mezo mali in lim anno riparo  
 cosi e germinato tal reciso  
 Fa pero non si in cio aversaro  
 teni chiara et lucida to mente  
 sempre fora cava ogne amaro  
 115 Magiure securta ebi qui presente  
 como ignaro di voler sapere  
 et da obscuro tornar volen lucente

<sup>27</sup> Dicit quod genera mortuorum sunt quatuor.

<sup>28</sup> primi sunt valde boni. et isti sunt qui decedunt in gratia et in gloria.

<sup>29</sup> secundi sunt valde mali. et isti sunt qui decedunt sine gratia et in actuali culpa.

<sup>30</sup> tertii sunt mediocriter boni. seu qui in gratia et non in gloria decedunt.

<sup>31</sup> quarti sunt mediocriter mali. seu qui decedunt sine gratia et sine culpa actuali.

<sup>32</sup> Sequitur et dicit. quod omnis in gratia bonus, et omnis sine gratia malus. Ideo secundum hoc. Valde boni in paradiso Valde mali in inferno sunt. Mediocriter boni in purgatorio. Et mediocriter mali in limbo. De istis ultimis et dampnatis dicit in psalmo. Collocavit me in obscuris sicut mortuos seculi.

<sup>33</sup> Coradus antedictus fuit secretarius Regis Roberti potestatem habuit disponere de officiis et domo regia ad libidum. Devenit ad tepiditatem et tantam grossitudinem, quod in rebus gestis non placuit regi, nec alicui, neque sibi ipsi, propter quod idem Rex mandavit illum capi et in foveam turris recludi obscurissimam. In qua positus, nunquam postea exinde exivit, nec demum Regem vidit, neque creaturam aliquam.

- Et dixi o donna chiara il mio volere <sup>34</sup>  
 se lanime de passati se pon salvare  
 120 el como el quale in cio se vol tenere  
 Volseme presto ley de cio chiarare  
 et dixe. <sup>35</sup> cio e assay legiero  
 tale sentensa voler ad te trovare  
 Agostino sia lo tuo argentero <sup>36</sup>  
 125 ad bonifatio soa pistola scripse  
 tal punto dicendo a tucto il vero  
 In quatro modi tal anime disse  
 da lor pena liberar se poranno  
 non pero se dampnati lor morisse  
 130 Per la oblation chel sacerdoti fanno  
 che rimedio e a vuy, di sopra  
 per oration di santi che stanno  
 For de vuy, magnifica lor opra  
 et per quilloro che e di vostra pianta  
 135 far limosina ogne di sadopra  
 Et per deiunij de quillor savanta  
 circa vuy voler esser coniunti  
 oration vera spande so pianta  
 Odi che la secunda <sup>37</sup> ha veri punti  
 140 con acto de latria e summa virtute  
 et in missa sparge tucti so funti  
 La lemosina <sup>38</sup> mostra soe vedute  
 col moral inferiori qui nel basso  
 ove lanime da corpi son possedute

<sup>34</sup> Queritur si anime defunctorum possunt a pena liberari.

<sup>35</sup> Respondet.

<sup>36</sup> Augustinus in epistola ad Bonifacium dicit quod anime defunctorum quator solvuntur a pena aut seu oblationibus sacerdotum, et istud remedium est de bonis qui sunt super nos. aut orationibus sanctorum. et istud remedium est de hijs qui sunt extra nos. Aut helemosinis carorum. et istud remedium est de illis qui sunt infra nos. Aut jeiuniis cognatorum. et istud remedium est de illis qui sunt circa nos.

<sup>37</sup> 2° Oblatio que est actus latrie que est summa inter virtutes morales et istud est adhuc magis prestantissimum in missa, cum ibi concurrat actus caritatis et actus latrie.

<sup>38</sup> helemosina que est actus misericordie que est de inferioribus moralibus.

- 145 Have il dejunio<sup>39</sup> mosto il so passo  
    accompagnato con temperansa bella  
    con linfimi morali da so casso  
    Ritorna lanima lucente piu che stella  
150 cavata di pena fase amica dio  
    chiamata dal factor veni sorella  
    Levato e de cio ogne desio  
    dal tirando rubator che dir se pote  
    ad me lo portiro al voler mio  
    Quanno nol pensa traciara so gote  
155 dignita chiama et ley el confonda  
    mote gia sonno le volventi rote  
157 Vialmandare como darbor fronda

## CANTO SESTO

## DOVE DICE DEL PREDICTI RIMEDIJ LI QUALI GIOVA ALI MORTI

- 1 Se del dimando non si ancho chiarito  
    non prender maravelge che cio procede  
    in dir non posser tucto a dito a dito  
    Ma quil che tucto po et tucto vede  
5 te dricze in salute la toa vita  
    che neleterna gloria vegni rede  
    Del toe dimande non farro uscita  
    ancho dirro et ritorniro ad esse  
    che ben farro to mente rivestita  
10 Et se ogne persona creder me volesse  
    non seria barbachata in frode  
    non dubitara de locho yo cadesse  
    Fanno<sup>40</sup> te dicho dicti rimedij prode  
    ali morti che purga lor peccati  
15 sel tre<sup>41</sup> dicte invita lanima gode

<sup>39</sup> Jeiumium quod est actus temperantie. que est de infimis virtutibus moralibus, circa paxiones bestiales.

<sup>40</sup> Sequitur dicens quod remedia supra in precedenti canto posita proficiunt mortuis ad penam purgatorij precavendam ut si ante mortem oblationes elemosine et jeiunia multiplicentur unde Isaia 48. Ante ibit faciem tuam iustitia tua et gloria domini colliget te.

<sup>41</sup> Sel tre: sunt oblationes, helemosine et jeiunia.



- Et se pur piccoli son qui operati  
 giovan <sup>42</sup> multo a mitigar la pena  
 la ove a purgar son deputati  
 Et quando in pocho sparge lor vena  
 20 el tempo lungo torna breviare <sup>43</sup>  
 non possendal tucto levar tal catena  
 Et quando son grandi multo sol giovare  
 ad retrarli <sup>44</sup> et darli luce viva  
 tal che lanima al tucto po salvare  
 25 Pensar deve pero lanima passiva  
 chel voler passar di quel duro seno  
 non deve di vera luce farse priva  
 Ancho piu giova et fanno alto sereno  
 li bon rimedia <sup>45</sup> che to prima dicti  
 30 a quilor che vita e tornata meno  
 Prima como sonno versi scripti  
 quanto al mundo utilita temporale  
 giova, giovare, et seran benedicti  
 Le parol del salvatore multo qui vale  
 35 ca opu <sup>46</sup> e di quella summaltecza  
 misericordia che tolge ogne male  
 Et voler dare a quistor gravecza  
 di nego <sup>47</sup> a nol voler mandar suso  
 barbachato e de crudelta ruzecza  
 40 Or non avere il tuo cor chiuso  
 ca tal doni giova <sup>48</sup> al faciente  
 piu che per quiloro donase qui iuso

<sup>42</sup> 2.° prosunt ad illam penam mitigandam scilicet quando sunt ita parva quod non possunt ea totaliter tollere.

<sup>43</sup> 3.° prosunt ad illam breviendam scilicet quando sunt ita pauca quod non possunt ea totaliter rescindere.

<sup>44</sup> 4.° prosunt ad illam totaliter auferendam. ut quando sunt ita intensa et multa quod penam merentur ultimate auferre.

<sup>45</sup> Dicit quod predicta remedia prosunt mortuis primo quantum aliqua utilitas temporalis posset in hoc mundo prodesse quum illa pena secundum Agostinum est omnibus penis temporalibus acerbior et remedium est utilius.

<sup>46</sup> 2.° Est opus summe misericordie. Quanto est calamitas gravior, tanto miseratio floridior, teste domino.

<sup>47</sup> 3.° quod negare talia suffragia est opus maxime crudelitatis: quum quanto afflictio maior, tanto non compatiens est crudelior.

<sup>48</sup> 4.° quod talia suffragia plus prosunt facientibus digne, quam illis pro quibus fiunt quum illis solum temporaliter ad penam istis autem ad gratiam et gloriam. Sicut elemosina paupero prodest temporaliter, et facienti eternaliter.

- Leva solo la pena eternalmente  
alor per cui se fa lanima bella  
45 ma gratia et gloria equalmente  
Al distributor sabraccia et fa sorella  
amico se danno alalto factore  
eternal vive ogne limosinella  
Mover la voce allora volse fore  
50 per voler rimembrar li mie sensi  
de una verita che me venne al chore  
Ma ley me guardo et disse che pensi  
non parlar anchora odi et scolta  
ca piu che te con mie ochy vensi  
55 Pocho ho dicto et tu con to rivolta  
cridi passare dila soctal bucha  
pensando avere finita ricolta  
Fermaime allora versol mio ducha  
che qui maveva driczatol camino  
60 dimora danno che la luce lucha  
Et la donna che qui erame vecino  
volenno di salute darne via  
con so dire maccosto al so sino  
Vo che sappi da so bocha uscia  
65 ca lanime <sup>49</sup> che purga lor peccati  
la ove te parlay un pocho pria  
Sonno in gratia primo confirmati  
che li farra andar suso al celo  
et po di gloria <sup>50</sup> son certificati  
70 Affection di iusticia <sup>51</sup> hanno zelo  
et infiammati <sup>52</sup> di carita perfecta  
che indulceria ogne duol del gelo  
Cosi e germinata tal virtù necta  
ma qui piu vo che sappi tu anchora  
75 non pero te movere con gran frecta

<sup>49</sup> Dicit quod anime existentes in purgatorio sunt primo confirmate in gratia pro qua non amittenda sunt tollerata suplicia.

<sup>50</sup> 2.º sunt certificati de gloria cum habeant gratiam confirmatam quae est anima glorie.

<sup>51</sup> 3.º sunt affectati iustitia, cum zelo iustitie patienter substineantur.

<sup>52</sup> 4.º sunt inflammati caritate perfecta cum qua pena inferni esset amena unde dicit Ugo de Anima spiritali. quae fortis est ut mortis dilectio et dura, sicut inferum emulatio.

- Chel doni del quali e facta aurora  
 non giova<sup>83</sup> ad quilloro che son digni  
 chel paradiso possedir dimora  
 Ali gran mali delinferno<sup>84</sup> maligni  
 80 mica giova ne po prender fructo  
 ne anchò a quilloro che anno signi  
 Che de mezo mali prende<sup>85</sup> lor lucto  
 ca son privati de divina luce  
 ma solo ad quilor che hanno il ducto  
 85 Che lamita di boni<sup>86</sup> qui li duce  
 ad purgare le lor commesse colpe  
 uscita del corpo che lli se conduce  
 Fanno felice le lor bructe polpe  
 che giuso al fango anno avuta cura  
 90 et priso exempio de lupi et volpe  
 Fo ancho luce a toa testa dura  
 che per quilloro<sup>87</sup> oration facendo  
 che delinferno anno lor mistura  
 Al tribuente torna non sapendo  
 95 et si scienter per tali se orasse  
 anderia pur peccati accomulendo  
 Et se orare per quillor<sup>88</sup> se pensasse  
 che del paradiso son posseditori  
 pur alor peccata conven che andasse

<sup>83</sup> Dicit quod predicta remedia primo non prosunt illis qui sunt in paradiso quia sunt valde boni. Et miseri non possunt beatis subvenire. Unde Augustinus ad Januarium. Iniuriam facit martiri qui orat pro martire.

<sup>84</sup> 2.º non prosunt valde malis qui sunt in inferno quum de ipsis non est memoria in conspectu dei.

<sup>85</sup> 3.º non mediocriter malis: quia illi puniuntur sola pena dampni: quae est carentia visionis divinae ideo nullatenus possunt relevari nisi beatificentur per divinam potentiam.

<sup>86</sup> 4.º prosunt illis qui sunt mediocriter boni: qui sunt in purgatorio: quum non est defectus ex parte ipsorum cum sint membra corporis christi mystici: nec est ex parte nostra: cum unum membrum alteri subvenire possit secundum doctrinam apostoli.

<sup>87</sup> Dicit quod quum ignorantiter oratur pro illo qui est in inferno, totum bonum revertitur ad sanitatem secundum illud evangelium ad vos revertetur pax vestra si ibi non fuerit filius pacis. Quando autem scienter quis pro tali oraret peccaret: quum illis non est compatiendum sed male dicendum qui semper deum blasfemant.

<sup>88</sup> Quando autem pro illis qui sunt in paradiso aliquis scienter oraret, peccat: quia qui miser reputatur. Si vero ignoranter multum prodest oranti quum videt affectum orantis. Ideo dicit secundum macteam Res sancta et salubris est cogitatio pro defunctis exorare ut a peccatis solvantur.

- 100 Et si ignoranter, movesse lor calori  
 per lor pregare li corpi terreni  
 in loro torna como a terrin fiori  
 Fanse i peccata dulce et ameni <sup>80</sup>  
 in quel tempo che lanima se purga  
 105 giovan multo in tornar sereni  
 Ma ansi chel tuo animo insurga  
 in altro dar penso intendi prima  
 quel che hora dire in te mengurga  
 Ca de gran confusion serebe cima  
 110 se non seray di tal tempi chiarito  
 pero indirtelo sponde mia lima  
 Odi et sempre sta fermo et ardito  
 che quatro tempi <sup>80</sup> sonno gia trovati  
 del anime purgare ogne partito  
 115 Luno de innocensa <sup>81</sup> con litte stati <sup>82</sup>  
 pero chel quarto <sup>83</sup> era sempre pleno  
 eran tucte al secundo abitati  
 Pero che misericordia <sup>84</sup> mosse il freno  
 el terzo di gratia <sup>85</sup> el tempo prova  
 120 che de lor una non avera sireno  
 Al quarto <sup>86</sup> fotura gloria se rinova  
 che sol del dicte duy abitaranno  
 non volendo che laltre duy se mova <sup>87</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Predicta remedia prosunt eo tempore quo anima est in purgatorio.

<sup>80</sup> Dicit quod quatuor sunt tempora purgatorij.

<sup>81</sup> Primum est tempus innocentie. Et tunc in inferno erant tres mansiones vacue seu sinus abram purgatorium et limbum quia in istis non erant homines . . . quarta non plena seu infernus quia ibi erant demones.

<sup>82</sup> Sive sinus abrae purgatorium et limbum.

<sup>83</sup> seu infernus.

<sup>84</sup> seu in tempore misericordie. Secundum fuit tempus misericordie: in quo omnes quatuor fuerunt habitate ab hominibus. Cum patres ad sinum, imperfecti ad purgatorium, parvuli ad limbum, et peccatores ad infernum discenderant.

<sup>85</sup> tertium est tempus gratie: in quo tres habitantur comuniter cum sinus abrae fuit totaliter evacuatum.

<sup>86</sup> quartum vero tempus est future glorie in quo solum due habitabuntur: quia tunc purgatorium totaliter cessabit unde apocalisses 21 dicit quod mors non erit ultra, neque luctus in electis.

<sup>87</sup> Sciendum est autem quod nunc omnes homines habent privilegium quod per purgatorium transeant ad paradisum. Tunc autem, scilicet, ante christum homines descendeant ad sinum abrae, eoque ianua erat clausa que fuit aperta per christum.

- Allora li mie modi se staranno  
 125 in alto se cantara. et giu nel basso  
 con lamenti et stride tormentaranno  
 Poy me guardo, et mirandome lasso  
 et stanco como se portasse some  
 me disse: or su ferma lo tuo passo  
 130 Ca dir volisti pria, non so come  
 ne quale mover volisti to parole  
 dimanda di qual voli saper il nome  
 Assecurato quanto possesti co le  
 mie mano me frecay el viso  
 135 como che il resvelgiato far sole  
 El dimando poy mossi preciso  
 saper da vuy vorey tal tracto  
 per al mundo non tornar voler deriso  
 Se giova tal solennita <sup>68</sup> al facto  
 140 che al sepulture sol contribuire  
 al morti da viventi con alcun pacto  
 Non me lasso ultra parlar ne dire  
 ancho fe segno chio stesse queto  
 et con riverensa pussime a udire  
 145 Fermose allora al so locho secreto  
 et nel volto me guardo tanto fervente  
 che me fe del mio dubio tornar leto  
<sup>69</sup> Tu voy sapere qui disse presente  
 el giovamento di cotal chosecte  
 150 qual qui se fa tra la pomposa gente  
 Per dar salute al anime poverecte  
 che son private de la mia versara <sup>70</sup>  
 credendosel tornare bianche et necte  
 Quella stulta <sup>71</sup> e persona amara  
 155 chel soy prossimi cognoscer non pote  
 piu stulta <sup>72</sup> e ancho piu divara

<sup>68</sup> Ultime solemnitates que fiunt sepulture prosunt defunctis.

<sup>69</sup> Respondet.

<sup>70</sup> seu vite, quod mors et vita sunt contrarie.

<sup>71</sup> Stultus indicatur qui nescit cognoscere proximos suos.

<sup>72</sup> Stultior qui non domesticos suos.

Non dando al domestici vere note  
et multo piu quiluy <sup>73</sup> che se stesso  
cognoscer non se vole nel so rote  
160 Ritornando la broctura pur con esso

CANTO SETTIMO

DOVE DICE LO IUVAMENTO DEL ANIME DE MORTI DELE SOLEMNITA  
ET CERIMONIE CHE SE FANNO A LOR CORPI.

1 Senza pace quilor che sonno al mundo  
vive duro come aceto et fele  
tal che porra giu mandar al fundo  
Trovase da cristo facto se crudele  
5 cal suo legato <sup>74</sup> caccia et abandona  
che qui lo lasso con saporose vele  
O vivente che tu porisci bona  
prender salute che te dimostrata  
et tuctol di la santa chiesa sona  
10 Per posar to capo non e calata  
melgior se provvede volpe <sup>75</sup> et ucelli  
et tuctanimali de bruta briata  
Non move lor penser li tapinelli  
in farsi belli di tanta lordura  
15 qual fasciate hanno ossa et pelli  
Aspecta pur yo sia su le mura  
a volerli portare tra laltre genti  
et la mundana luce farli scura  
Et in cantilena sonno lor parenti  
20 chi un modo et chi unaltro prende  
sonno con schori panni in lamenti  
Et al sepulture usa far calende  
di cera. di pompe, et de solemnitade  
in modi diversi tucti lor saccende

<sup>73</sup> Stultissimus qui non semetipsum.

<sup>74</sup> Nam Christus ex hoc mundo recedens, pacem nobis pro legato relinquit.  
Unde qui pacem renunt eius coheredes non sunt. dicente domino Matthaei 5.  
Beati pacifici qui filii dei vocabuntur.

<sup>75</sup> Vulpes foveas habent: et volucres celi nidos. filius autem hominis non habet  
ubi caput suum reclinet: lucas. 9.c.

- 25 <sup>76</sup> Or vo che to dimande sian chiarate  
 che cura pompe et conditione  
 al sepellir di morti gia trovate  
 Fanno al vivi lor consolatione  
 al morti non e subsidio alcuno  
 30 et quatro <sup>77</sup> difficulta qui fa sermone  
 Odi et non fare lo cerebro bruno  
 se per poveri <sup>78</sup> se opra tal spese  
 o in subsidio de chiesa far duno  
 Averebbe con lemosene lor prese  
 35 et vo che sappi se giova quil locho <sup>79</sup>  
 ove quiloru sepellir son palese  
 Agostin te chiara ben di tal giocho  
 et chiaro ti fo calacorrente colpa <sup>80</sup>  
 del operanti, al morti non da focho  
 40 Loro il fanno et loro si se involpa  
 et mino al passato se nol menda noce  
 sel so potere fece con soa polpa <sup>81</sup>  
 Pensa ed odi ben la mia voce  
 che questa non e arte andar cantando  
 45 ne senza retinerlo farne foce  
 Non se camina da qui poetando  
 che la natura muta in altra forma  
 con novi colori novita trovando

<sup>76</sup> Respondet ad interrogationem supra dictam Augustinus de civitate dei ibi dicit quod curatio funeris. conditio sepulture. pompa exequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia, quam defunctorum subsidia.

<sup>77</sup> Occurunt li quatuor difficultates.

<sup>78</sup> 1.<sup>a</sup> Si tales sumptus fiant ut inde pauperes vel ecclesie sustentarentur dicit quod tunc prosunt sicut alie helemosine.

<sup>79</sup> 2.<sup>a</sup> difficultas est si locus sepulture prodest dicit etiam Augustinus in libro de cura quod non prodest per se sed bene meritis sunt eorum ibi sepulcorum aut suffragiorum quae ibi fiunt.

<sup>80</sup> 3.<sup>a</sup> difficultas est si peccata parentum in pompa talium nocent defuncto. dicit quod non: quia pater non portat iniquitatem filii nec filius iniquitatem patris Ezechielis 18. Si tamen aliquis talia ordinaret ut que ponerentur iuxta corpus mortis. tunc obsesset illa ordinatio quamvis non sequitur intentio.

<sup>81</sup> quarta difficultas est. si defunctis fore facta: non emendarent: si obest dicit quod non. dum cum vivens fecerit quod potuit. quia istud non est malum suum sed filiorum. Ezechielis 18.





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- Li gran possenti<sup>82</sup> sempre trova norma  
 50 con drappi pompe et con magne spese  
 mostrandol volto che non par piu dorma  
 Se giovassen sereben piu cortese  
 el sumpto farebe si grande et tale  
 che poco avansarebe in lor prese  
 55 Levarebe del paradiso el serrale  
 lor se fareben citadin di sopra  
 el poveri nandereben soctol male  
 La vera iustitia ognun scopra  
 ove vorra el merito redare  
 60 al iusti el bene, al dampnati lopera  
 A la superna cita qualunche andare  
 merita et abia dio servoto  
 fructifero triunfo vorra mirare  
 Da le superne luce ben rivestoto  
 65 dal choro angelicho sempre riverito  
 da dio eterno serra rivedoto  
 Non chomo Cesari in Roma fe il sito  
 over Antonio et roman assay  
 ne chomo lo bon Vespasian et Tito<sup>83</sup>  
 70 Non chomo Alfonso re che tu say<sup>84</sup>  
 in napoli riceppe il triunfale  
 del qual maggiore tu mirasti may

<sup>82</sup> Nam divites et potentes magnos sumptus in exequiis faciunt mortuorum. Et si talia jvarent mortuis, cogerentur adhuc facere majora. Itaque propter pompas in paradisum ascenderent et pauperes: quia talia facere non possent, descenderent ad inferna. sed non est ita. quia secundum justitiam judicabuntur.

<sup>83</sup> Nam pro istis ad eorum memoriam sunt archus triumphales in urbe romana.

<sup>84</sup> Dicit hic de Rege Alfonso qui intravit Neapolim cum curru triumphali. Nam primo veniebant et antecedeabant juvenes XII solo giploy de velluti rubri induti: decalciatique calligas scarulaticas: argento et perilis rachamatas et contestas: cum aliquibus literis et versibus habebant dicte callige puntas acutas et longas. Ibant equitati et recti in equis pulcerrime ornatis: in sella: non sedendo: et in manu dextra tenentes quamdam lanceam rubeam coloratam: sine ferro: ornatam, vero quadam franca de seta. Quibus precedebant tubecte tres equitati et bene ornati. Et hoc de primo. Sequebantur postea tubecte tres alie similiter ornate. Et veniebat quidam thalamus omni ornamento fulcitus, manualiter portatus in quo ordinatus et positus erat quidam iuvenis more angelico indutus habens et gestans pallam auream in manu et super eundem quidam alter angelus ordinatus et positus erat quamdam coronam auream mire pulcritudinis manu gestans. Demum vero post duas tubectas, septem juvenes: habitu et indumento muliebri induti: in signo et figura septem virtutum: omni pulchritudine pleni: pandis scarulaticis

Li cavaleri andare como et quale  
 foron li gioveni acti al destrero  
 75 se ognun mostrando angel sensuale  
 Mirasti le gran donne a tal mistero  
 in signo de virtu bene adobate  
 et lindrappati carri in tal sintero

et sericis induti: equitati equis seta et velluto ornatis: sequebantur. Quarum una erat manu gestans coronam auream: secunda calicem unum aurei coloris, tertia quamdam figuram seu imaginem quarta quamdam columpnam argentei coloris. quinta carrafam unam plenam vino, et aliam plenam aqua, sexta erat portans quemdam speculum in quo se continuo mirabatur, septima vero non eques erat sed veniebat in quodam curru seu thalamo: miro modo ornata: non humana creatura visa: sed angelica formata, quae justitiam representabat: ense in dextra, et belancias in sinistra gestans. Non sedens: sed quasi de sua sede expulsa in fine talami pedes stabat. In medio vero talami erat sedilis: seu segia regia pannis aureis et omni pulcritudine ornata: nemo in ea sedens. Super quam in alte erant tres angeli: creature viventes in modum angelorum, angelico modo artate et indute, habentes alas pulcherrimas et mire magnitudinis: manibus tenentes magnam coronam, omni ornatu et pulcritudine plenam: triplici serto seu gradu ornatam in aureo colore. Et cum obiam fuit regi, rogavit eum: ut ipsam tanquam incognitam et expulsam in suo deberet ponere sedili. Veniebant postea persone duodecim equis transformati et induti in signo et figura duodecim prophetarum. Et postea ethyopi duo similiter equitati sequebantur, erat autem et veniebat post hoc thalamus unus ornatus omni pulcritudine: super quem erat medio ordinatus mundus in rotundo et pulcherrime depictus: nunquam sistens: sed continuo volvens. Super quem mundum quidam juvenis positus erat totaliter omni arma copertus et armatus: huius in manu dextera quoddam sceptrum regale seu baculum: et in sinistra pallam unam auream. In signo et figura magni regis Alexandri qui totum mundum dominatus fuit: seu Imperatoris Cesaris. Et satis metricè vulgariter fuit Regem allocutus. Deinde sequebatur quidam alius thalamus omni pulcritudine ornatus. In medio cuius posita et ordinata erat devisia dicti domini regis videlicet quedam segia aurea, infochata, quam quatuor angeli viventes creature, angelico more ordinati retinebant et procurabant. Unus autem angelus antecedebat eam in dicto thalamo, ense habens in manu. Postea veniebat multi transformati in habitu: et facie velati: aliqui pedes: aliqui eques equis artificialiter factis: qui simul rissantes: ad hoc ut nemo curru regi se appropinquasset. Sequebatur post hec multitudo maxima tubectarum eorum officium operantium et tubectantium. Demum veniebat currus triumphalis, aurey coloris ordinatus. huius rotas quatuor, auro cohoperatas. Super quem dictus dominus rex residebat. Indutus veste regia: in quadam segia, miro modo et omni ornatu et pulcritudine constructa: tota auro contesta: coccinis et pannis aureis ornata. Erat in pede ipsius currus ante faciem regis ordinata et posita eius devisia: videlicet la segia infochata: aurei coloris: ut condecens erat. Erat dictus currus per neapolitanam civitatem ductus, seu tractus, ab equis sex albis, cordulis, seta crocea et rubra mistis, ductis a nobilibus de nobilibus et principalibus neapolitanis. Cohoperebantur autem currum quodam satis divite et pulcherrimo pallio portato a viginti nobilibus nobilioribus neapolitanis, sub lanceis viginti pulcherrime factis. Veniebant post currum procession-

- Mirasti le gran piache de person charcate  
80 el gran soni el grandi adobamenti  
li momenti. acti. partiti et posate  
El signior tucti in assembiamenti  
in procession di po lo carro tende  
fulciti di drappi et de illustre genti  
85 Mundana gloria ansi et poi vende  
illustra et excelsa piu quanto possecte  
quil popul fe a tal segnor calende  
El cielo piu et magior gloria mecte  
quando lanima beata vol trasire  
90 tal che mundana a vile in terra gecte  
Ben deverisci tu o peccator venire  
ad contemplar gloria excelsa tanta  
qual sol per me lanima ricepire  
Langel tucti et del ciel compagna santa  
95 sonno giocundi et vendo in compangia  
per lanima fare del paradiso pianta  
Cogita dunche et mira la mia via  
sio dicho il vero non venir busardo  
di qual volgia grande o poverel sia  
100 Non bisogna in funeral esser gaiardo  
pompe mundane ca non giovaltucto  
farese derrebe dogne vitio codardo  
Gia era del color quasi destructo<sup>88</sup>  
giovenil etate al tucto passata  
105 di quel che hora lachiesa fa gran mucto  
De Bernardin dicho: che lanima levata  
ho da soa carne, che aquila possede  
al premio eterno e per me andata

aliter omnes principes, duces, comites, barones, magnati et domini regnicoli, et qui cum dicto domino Rege erant. Et quocumque ibat currus, ibant et domini: qui a rege victi et subditi. Intravit autem dictus dominus Rex modo predicto in dicta civitatem Neapolis juxta Carminum: non per portam: sed fracto muro iuxta portam. Et sic honorifice et triumphaliter totam ambulavit civitatem. Usquedum venit et intravit Castrum Capuane: In quo pacifice quievit. Et hoc in anno domini MCCCCXXXIIJ die martis XXVJ mensis februarij VI indictione. Ego autem qui librum compilavi et composui in dicta civitate presens fui et predicta propriis oculis vidi.

<sup>88</sup> dicit de Sancto Bernardino qui non juvenis sed senes obiit apud civitatem Aquile. in Anno domini MCCCCXXXIIJ die XX Maij.

- Quiluy che del cielo diventa herede  
 110     sel mio aiuto li manca nulla fora  
           a quiluy mirare che semprel tucto vede  
 Era sci el mio intellecto ora  
           di color natural altucto privo  
           che de ogne luce tracto era fora  
 115   De ansieta ferventera paxivo  
           a pena labocchapersi et dixi donna  
           che spero per te altucto tornar vivo  
 Lamente te prego fa chiara et monna  
           che me sveluppel core dai laccioli  
 120   che volubil mi porta como fronna  
 Dimme donna sel cerimonie<sup>86</sup> fa voli  
           ad nectar lanima che la porti altrove  
           et se giocunda torna di soi doli  
 Sel mie parole turbide se move  
 125   leffecto prindi et porgi la chiarecza  
           chio porte di te sempre nove nove  
<sup>87</sup> Non e dissella questo in altecza  
           ca luce, et luce in lucente spera  
           bense humilia chi non a grossecza  
 130   Se tu lintelecto porti in lumera  
           con patiensia<sup>88</sup> lanima possideray  
           la mia risposta serra ora vera  
<sup>89</sup> Tal ciromonia che gia viste hay  
           son da primitiva ecclesia trovate  
 135   de la cui prima se trovaro may  
 Impero giova al vitia levate  
           per fede sincera del vero operante  
           per la cui se fanno lanime beate  
           Non che sie di tal secul galante<sup>90</sup>  
 140   et abial salvatore in servitore  
           et deluy sia per proprio zelante

<sup>86</sup> Utrum Cerimonie que fiunt circa defunctos proficiunt eis.

<sup>87</sup> Respondet.

<sup>88</sup> In patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras Luca 21.

<sup>89</sup> Dicit quod tales cerimonie sunt rationabiliter a prima ecclesia institute. Ut primum per dyonisium de ecclesiastica Jererchia 7. Et ideo prosunt ex fide operantium talia. Iste cerimonie sunt. Aque benedictie aspersio. Thurificatio. crucis signatio. et luminum appositio. Que omnia pertinent ad virtutem latrie.

<sup>90</sup> Mundum amantium: deum in servitore habentium: eumque pro utilitate propria diligentium. cerimonie defunctis non proficiunt.

- La concupiscentia <sup>91</sup> general dolore  
et quando concepe mostra il peccato  
occulto dimora, caval poy fore  
145 Poy che al tucto serra consumato  
serro da luy eterna generata  
con lor trovandose pur avoluppato  
Ad me da po colpa lanima mal nata  
dal peccata non se leva qui nel mundo  
150 finche la carne lave in se serrata  
Diceme crudele quil vagabundo  
mundano scioccho plin di gabamenti  
havendo se de peccata facto fundo  
Ben son carchati di van sentimenti  
155 di me sparlando loro se incolpa  
in offender sempre dio sonno spenti  
157 Fin chio ne levo tucta carne et polpa.

<sup>91</sup> *Jacomus in cantica sua. Concupiscentia, cum conceperit, parit peccatum.  
peccatum vero: cum consumatum fuerit generat mortem. sed eternam.*

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## LITERARY EXCHANGE BETWEEN ANGEVIN ENGLAND AND SICILY

WHEN the twelve doughty sons of Tancred de Hauteville descended in succession on Southern Italy to conquer a kingdom for themselves, they were not slow to make the lower peninsula a second home. They and their followers displayed the famous Norman adaptability to a new environment and a new language. But they did not forget that they were Normans, even when they had established themselves triumphantly in the polyglot island of Sicily. They still considered Normans their kin,—and this meant the Normans of England as well as the Normans of the home land, where the prolific family of Tancred had originated. From the beginning, the layer of English society which spoke Norman-French seemed to feel a closeness of blood and sympathy with Norman Sicilians. The Anglo-Norman Ordericus Vitalis sings the praise of the Hauteville clan with an epic breadth and a borrowed patriotic fervor; Anglo-Norman prelates and poets are to be found seeking Sicilian territory as a country worth visiting or as a natural refuge in exile.<sup>1</sup> During the entire twelfth century, indeed, and even more in the reign of Frederick II, Sicily was a favored island for poets. The Arabic tradition, which had fostered poetry, remained strong down to Frederick's time. Two Arabic poets are recorded as of the court of Roger II, and a certain Abu Daw composed a long elegy on the death of Roger's son.—Adelasia, one of the several gifted Queens-Regent of Sicily, is said to have brought with her the Provençal style of poetry when she came to marry the first Roger. And as the splendor and wealth of the Sicilian court became famous, English men of letters found their way to the home of these erstwhile adventurers, along with Provençal poets and visitors from the court of Byzantium. It was a natural culmination when, in 1177, William II of the

<sup>1</sup> A. F. v. Schack, *Geschichte der Normanen in Sicilien*, ii, 36 ff. J. R. Planche, *The Conqueror and his Companions*, i, 104. Cf. *Vita Sancti Anselmi*.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, *Poesie u. Kunst der Araber in Spanien u. Sicilien*, ii, 41.

Two Sicilies married Princess Joanna of England, daughter of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, the fabulous and unaging patroness of romantic poets.<sup>3</sup>

Among the English, the glory and wealth of Sicily were proverbial. Walter Map, in a conversation concerning the wealth of kings, remarks that: "in auro pannisque sericis imperator Bizantiis et rex Siculus gloriantur."<sup>4</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis twice alludes to the abundance of beautiful and precious things there. He speaks "de Graecorum purpuris et pannis holosericis, gemmis quoque pretiosis, caeterisque opulentiis ipsorum multis et magnis; de Siculorum gazis gemmisque, metallis tam rutilis quam tumulis, quibus abundanter copiosissimis."<sup>5</sup> And he states more particularly in the same *De Principis Instructione Liber* that the city of Palermo regularly yields more sure revenue a year to the King of Sicily than all England gives to its King. No wonder the country, with its friendly court, attracted Englishmen in unusual numbers to visit or even to settle there.

Their popularity and influence became proverbial among Sicilians. "The English race," says Benedict of Peterborough, writing about 1190, "is held in the greatest reverence in the kingdom of Sicily."<sup>6</sup> With good reason. English politicians had been in the ascendant there since the days of Robert Rosset, 1140-1148, Chancellor of King Roger.<sup>6a</sup> The most powerful and astute minister before Stephen of Perche was Richard Palmer, an Englishman; and after the fall of Stephen's ministry Walter of the Mill (called by the Sicilians "Offamill"), another Englishman, became the all-powerful leader at court. He had been there since the reign of William I. Peter of Blois was tutor to William II in the boy-king's minority, and was Keeper of the Seal also. Richard's brother Bartholomew, like Peter's brother William, were men well known in Sicily at the same time. Gervase of Tilbury served under William II, and received, as a mark of high royal favor, a

<sup>3</sup> In 1191, when she was nearly 70, Eleanor took the long sea voyage to Sicily, to escort Berengaria to Messina, where Richard and Joanna awaited her.

<sup>4</sup> *De Nugis Curialium*, v, 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Opera*, viii, 317. *Rerum brit. med. aevi scriptores*. All English chronicles cited are of this series, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>6</sup> II, 139.

<sup>6a</sup> John of Salisbury's *Polycraticum*, Bk. 7, ch. 19.

quiet house at Nola. The travels of Gervase in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies may be scented by the story-souvenirs he has collected from the cities in which he used his eyes and ears so well. He, more than the others, was alert to receive and record fables, gossip, and wonder-stories from a country rich in these commodities. Through him especially, we suspect, the tale of Sicilian marvels reached England.

Even the English politicians in Sicily were men of letters—partly because most of them were churchmen. The letters of Peter of Blois, written from England to Sicily, are more interesting to us now than the brief power he held there as "Sigillarius." If we may judge from these letters, young William II must have had a ready-tongued, pedantic, animated tutor, full of tumbling quotations and apt moral reflections. The man's egoism and transparent vanity are of the harmless sort. He is strong in his opinions and insistent in his dislikes (in his dislike of Sicily, particularly!), but his letters are the more enjoyable for it. He had left his studies at Paris in 1167 to follow Stephen of Perche to Sicily. He remained there a very short time, and when he finally settled in England in the service of Henry II he found more delight (if we are to believe him) in writing to friends in Sicily from a safe distance, than in the exercise of considerable power on the island itself.

"You may have heard [he writes to his nephew with great satisfaction] from the present Pope himself, and several of his cardinals who were legates in my day, and from my brother, and the Abbot of St. Dennis, and many others, that when I was Keeper of the Seal in Sicily and instructor of King William II (then a boy), and when, next after the Queen and the Archbishop elect of Palermo, the ordering of the realm depended on my judgment, certain of those who intrigued out of envy to exclude me from my intimacy with the King, brought it about that I was chosen Archbishop of the church of Naples . . ."<sup>1</sup>

But the inflexible Peter refused to leave the court—just then—on any pretext. It is amusing to notice that this piece of reminiscence is embodied in a sermon directed at his nephew "because

<sup>1</sup> *Petri blesensis Opera omnia*. Migne; *Patrologiae Concursus Completus*, p. 390.

he was deserting solitude and the study of Holy Writ for the love of princes and the world!" Peter is hardly the one to give such admonitions, one would suppose. He frankly enjoyed the memory of his power, even when he laments the worldliness of things Sicilian. Writing in 1177 to Walter ("Offamill"), English Archbishop of Palermo, he turns from a detailed description of his present royal patron, Henry II, to his former royal pupil, William II:

"If your king is well versed in letters, our king is much more literary! [he insists, somewhat childishly]. For I know the ability of both in the science of letters. You know that the King of Sicily was my pupil for a year; and after he had received the first-fruits of the art of letters and versification from you," he attained through my industry and care the benefit of a fuller learning. But as soon as I left the kingdom he cast aside his books and gave himself over to the ease of the palace. Whereas the daily school of my lord the King of England is his intercourse with the most accomplished literary men and his discussion of questions with them."

At least, Peter implies, it was no fault of Anglo-Norman scholars if young William II, Joanna's future husband, was not also an "accomplished literary man."

Peter professed to look back on his sojourn in Sicily with horror. He does not tire of reflections on the infernal volcanic mountains, the envious, cruel character of the people, and the deadly climate, which devours people without regard for age, dignity or sex. "Thanks for your desire to have me return to Sicily," he writes to Richard Palmer, Bishop of Syracuse, "but I am not so prodigal of my life . . . Thirty-seven souls went to Sicily with Stephen of Perche, and all of them died there except myself and Master Roger the Norman, a modest, industrious man, skilled in letters . . ." The modern annotator suspects Peter of humor in his attacks on the Sicilian climate, especially when he compares it unfavorably to that of Great Britain.<sup>10</sup>

In spite of this aversion, Peter maintained his interest in Sicilian politics. He writes at great length to Walter, protesting vehe-

\* Walter had been the King's tutor before Peter's advent in Sicily.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134, note.

mently against King William's choice of an unfit man for the Bishopric of Girgenti, and urges Walter to use his influence to prevent such deplorable happenings. And he is very anxious to receive from "H.," Abbot of St. Dennis, his "*tractatum, quem de statu, aut potius de casu vestro in Sicilia descripsistis.*"<sup>11</sup> He in turn sends news about English affairs to Sicily: about the quarrel of Henry II and Thomas of Canterbury; and (once more to Walter) that intimate personal description of the King that appears in more than one English chronicle: his ruddy hair, his neglected fingernails, his troublesome ingrowing toenail, his trick of standing up except when riding or eating, his fondness for study and the hunt.

Another correspondent of Peter's was his brother William, whom he left in Sicily. To him he wrote a full account of his return home, dwelling on the repeated pleas of the King that he should remain, as Keeper of the Seal; on his own unwavering refusal to be moved by any offers; on the fatherly solicitude of the Archbishop of Salerno in his behalf; and the unbelievable honor and respect with which he was received at Genoa. William of Blois, it seems, did not dislike Sicily so intensely as to find, like Peter, that one year's stay was enough. Margaret, Queen Regent for William, had had him appointed Abbot of a monastery at the foot of Mount Aetna. The letters addressed to him there give evidence of his literary interests. He was learned in ecclesiastical discipline, and skilled in the lighter, more refined forms of composition. Peter praises him for his "*tragedy of Mark and Flora*" (a name with a secular, not to say romantic, flavor!), his comedy, his sermons, and his theological works. It is too bad that we know so little of him, and of that tragedy about Mark and Flora. Giraldus Cambrensis<sup>12</sup> records the mere fact that Peter's brother visited England from Sens.

The works of Walter of Palermo, "*maxime in omni humaniori literatura commendatus,*" are likewise lost. He is known to have written, but not even the titles of his productions have come down to us, except the name of a book on the rudiments of the Latin tongue—which he may have used in teaching his royal pupil.

Bartholomew, Walter's brother, was another Englishman who

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 346.

<sup>12</sup> *Opera*, viii, 158.

stood close to the King.<sup>13</sup> He writes himself down in a number of charters of privilege as Vice Chancellor. He was present at the marriage of Joanna to William, he was appointed to the Church of Girgenti, but as to his interest in literature we know nothing.

Gervase of Tilbury, on the other hand, is an Englishman who has left delightfully abundant evidence of his literary appreciation of Sicily and its stories; and he testifies indirectly to the presence of other Englishmen there. "When I was at Salerno in the year of the siege of Acre, I met a very dear friend whom I had known and loved in school and at the court of my lord the King of England,"<sup>14</sup>—by name Philip, son of the Earl of Salisbury. Gervase, rejoicing at the chance of hearing news from home, took his protesting friend to Nola, where he was staying "by the command of my master, the illustrious King William of Sicily," to quiet the riots at Palermo. Afterwards they went together to Naples, where the Archdeacon received them hospitably. Their host explained why their visit was attended by such good luck: they had entered by the right gate, over which Virgil had placed a smiling face of Parian marble. A frowning face, presiding over the left gate, brought bad luck to those who entered under it. Gervase jotted down this and other Virgilian stories. He found many tales being told of the magical powers of Virgil: about a piece of meat inserted by the poet in the wall of a meat market, still undecayed; about the place where he had confined the vermin of the district; about the marvellous baths of Virgil which healed all diseases, until the jealous physicians of Salerno (famous in Gervase's day) destroyed the inscriptions explaining which water would cure which disease. And there is the tale of an English "magister, . . . summe literatus, in trivio et quadrivio potens et acutissimus, in physica operosus, in astronomia summus," who asked permission of Roger II of Sicily to look for the bones of Virgil. The King consented; the royal writ was granted. The lucky Magister found his bones, and, evidently, was helped to write a book of Virgilian art by their inspiration. But the populace of Naples, fearing lest the exposure of so powerful a corpse should bring destruction, de-

<sup>13</sup> Carusius, *Bibl. hist. sic.*, ii, 985 ff.

<sup>14</sup> *Otia Imperialia*, in *Scriptores rerum brunsvicensium*, Hanover, 1707, i, 963-964.

prived him of the bones and left him only the book. Gervase had seen parts of the book as proof of the truth of the story.<sup>15</sup>

When Gervase returned to England he had other tales besides mere wonder stories of Virgil's garden, or the perverse salt of Girgenti, which dissolved in fire and crystallized in water. I suspect that Walter Map learned from him the story "De Nicholao Pipe," a man with the nature of a fish, who could not live without water or the smell of the sea. He died, says Walter, when he was taken inland to be presented to King William of Sicily, who was curious about him.<sup>16</sup>—But Gervase has a slightly different version. According to him, Nicholas *Papa*, a native of Apulia, descended into the Strait of Messina to investigate the bottom of the ocean for *Roger* of Sicily. He reported the existence of trees, valleys, and mountains.<sup>17</sup> Felix Liebrecht, commenting on the story, points out that later versions (such as Fazellus, *De Rebus Siculis*, 1579) call him "Cola Piscis," a more likely name than "Papa," or Walter Map's "Pipis." Walter may have heard the story, of course, when he was in Italy himself, even though he did not see either of the two Sicilies.

Like many other travelers in Sicily, Gervase had been impressed by the burning mountains in the island itself and near Naples. Peter of Blois had mentioned the popular belief, so often quoted, that these mountains vomiting infernal fire are the "porta inferi."<sup>18</sup> "They are the doors of Death and Hell, I say; these mountains of Sicily where men are drawn in from the earth, and descend to the infernal regions alive." Gervase repeats the same belief concerning the volcanoes of Naples. He tells how Bishop John of Naples saved a lost soul whom he heard groaning in the fiery places just beneath the surface. But the most curious of these anecdotes is the story which localizes King Arthur on the slopes of Mt. Aetna—on Mongibel, as it was popularly called. This passage has been quoted often, but it is worth repeating:<sup>19</sup> Mt. Aetna, in Sicily, he says, is called Mongibel by the people. The natives relate that the

<sup>15</sup> Given in Liebrecht's excerpts from the *Otia*.

<sup>16</sup> *De Nugis curialium*, iv, 13.

<sup>17</sup> *Otia Imp. in Auswahl*, Hannover, 1856. *Otia. Secunda Distinctio*, 12.

<sup>18</sup> *Opera*, p. 134.

<sup>19</sup> *Otia, Secunda Distinctio*, 12.

great King Arthur appeared in the waste places of the mountain in our own time. One day a palfrey belonging to the Bishop of Catania escaped. A squire, pursuing it, found himself in a deserted valley of the mountain. Here he came upon

"Arturum in strato regii apparatus recubantem. Cumque ab advena et peregrino causam sui adventus percontaretur, agnita causa itineris, statim palfredum episcopi facit adduci, ipsumque praesuli reddendum ministro commendat, adjiciens, se illic antiqutis in bello, cum Modredo, nepote suo, et Childerico, duce Saxonum, pridem commisso, vulneribus quotannis recrudescens, saucium diu mansisse."

The same encounters, Gervase remarks, are said to occur in the forests of Greater and Lesser Britain; but there is a temptation to look upon Sicily as a more appropriate Island of Avalon, where Arthur might heal him of his grievous wounds, and await the time for his return.

The question is, how did Arthur get there? The suggestions that have been made are inconclusive, because no Sicilian chronicle mentions Arthurian legends in the island. A. Graf (*Giornale Storico della letteratura italiana*, v, 80-130) argues rather feebly that the myth "seems" Germanic, and must have been brought by the Normans themselves when they came in the eleventh century. He suspects that they had learnt some Breton tales from their neighbors in Little Brittany—but that would hardly make the myth "Germanic." He points out, though, that the native Sicilian tales about Aetna are classical, except where they treat it as the entrance to Hell. This would prevent the natives (before the Normans, presumably) from placing Arthur there, if he had been a hero of theirs; whereas the newly arrived Normans would not have shared this feeling.—We might attribute to the English (i.e., Anglo-Norman) visitors of Sicily the importation of King Arthur—Peter of Blois, for instance, mentions him several times—except that Gervase found the story already well established there when he heard it. However, once established, Arthur became very much at home there in the next century. The romances of *Floriant et Florete* and *Maugis d'Aigremont*,<sup>20</sup> and the frequent references in early

<sup>20</sup> Cf. F. Castets, *Recherches sur les rapports des chansons de geste et l'épopée italienne*.



Sicilian lyric to Lancelot, Morgane la Fée, Perceval, and especially Merlin (whose prophecies were collected by Richard of Messina at the request of Frederick II), show how well Arthur was received in this Mediterranean Avalon. It is at least worth noting that the story does appear in Sicily just when Arthur was being admitted into the English chronicles generally, after Geoffrey of Monmouth; and that the Sicilian tale of Gervase unites Modred with a Saxon ally Childeric, just as Geoffrey's narrative does.<sup>21</sup>

There is another very problematical guess concerning a piece of Sicilian literature. It may be mentioned because it touches the author of the vivid and spirited *Liber de Regno Siciliae*—Hugo Falcandus, the "Sicilian Tacitus" of the twelfth century, the eye-witness and historian of the intricate political manoeuvring in Margaret's regency. Mr. John C. Hildt, in a recent number of the *Smith College Studies in History*,<sup>22</sup> says: "Arguments can be produced to show that he was not a Sicilian, nor a Frenchman, nor an Apulian. Equally good arguments might be produced, I think, to prove that he was an Englishman. Certainly the English at the Sicilian court alone escaped his bitter censures." I am not able to add any comment to this; but I wish indeed that we might hear more of these proofs of English nationality. The fact would be significant, if true, just because it would relate Hugo Falcandus to so many other English authors in the same foreign setting. And the origin of such a man is worth debating.

For readers of medieval romance there is a certain satisfaction in the royal marriage which symbolized all these literary connections between Sicily and England: the union of the young King William II with Joanna of England. The unforced tributes given to William in all chronicles, Sicilian and foreign, suggest that he really possessed the virtues imagined for an ideal knight and prince: liberality, courage, love of poetry, piety (Peter of Blois reminds Henry II that William put on sackcloth as soon as he heard of the fall of Jerusalem),<sup>23</sup> and love of justice and peace for the sake of his people. And Joanna, because she was the daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine, is closely connected with the whole system of courtly

<sup>21</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bk. xi, ch. 1. For archaeological evidence of Arthur at Otranto, see *Studi Medievali*, 1906-7, ii, 507.

<sup>22</sup> Vol. 3, no. 3 (April, 1918).

<sup>23</sup> P. 508.

love which her dominating mother so zealously fostered. It appears that she was destined to marry the heir of Sicily when she was but a baby,<sup>24</sup> but the heir then was Roger, who died young. The marriage project held when William became successor, though it was threatened with extinction and lapsed for a time when Sicilian relations became strained during the exile of Thomas Becket. In the interim William made an attempt to marry a princess of Constantinople, but was deceived by her father. The princess simply failed to appear on the day she was expected, or any day after that. So William (and his advisers), says Carusius, turned their thoughts once more to the interrupted engagement with Joanna, who was after all "*ejusdem Normanni generis*." His emissaries were sent to England in 1176. Benedict of Peterborough gives the most complete account of the transaction:<sup>25</sup>

"In the meantime there landed in England the Bishop of Troja, the Bishop-elect of Capua, and Count Florus, messengers of the King of Sicily, and with them Rotrode, Archbishop of Rouen, of the kin of the aforesaid King of Sicily. And having found the King in London, they asked from him his daughter Joanna to be wedded to their lord the King of Sicily. Then he, calling together bishops and arch-prelates and the wise men of the kingdom, took counsel of them to decide what he should reply to the legation of so great a King. And when he had received their advice, he sent the emissaries to Winton, that they might see whether the aforesaid maiden pleased them . . . When the aforesaid messengers had beheld the beauty of the maiden, and had found it pleasing beyond measure, they went back to her father . . . And at their instance, when they had gained their desire of the King, he sent the Bishop of Troja, and with him Bishop John of Norwich and Paris, Archdeacon of Rochester, to William King of Sicily, to intimate to him that the King would give his daughter to him. And in the meantime the King of England retained the Bishop-elect of Capua, and Count Florus, until his daughter was ready to be sent."

Romualdo Guarna, a Sicilian chronicler, gives us a hint that the princess did not enjoy her voyage.<sup>26</sup> Her father, says he, sent her as far as St.-Gilles "*honeste*" (perhaps he was thinking of the

<sup>24</sup> Carusius, ii, p. 995 ff.

<sup>25</sup> i, 115.

<sup>26</sup> *Cronisti e scrittori sincroni napoletani*: Romualdo Guarna, *Cronica* 1121-1178, p. 41.

princess of Constantinople, whose father did not send her at all). When William heard of this he sent to meet her (appropriately) Richard Palmer of Syracuse, with other notables in 25 galleys. "Qui venientes apud S. Aegidium, praenominatam Regis filiam intra galeas recipientes, eam usque Neapolim deduxerunt. Sed quia puella [poor girl!] navigationis insolita, fluctus maris pati non poterat, celebrato Neapoli Dominicae Nativitatis festo, per Salernum et Calabriam Panormum venit"—that is, by land as far as possible.

Roger of Hoveden describes her triumphant entry into Palermo. When she reached the city with Gilles, Bishop of Evreux (in Normandy), everyone turned out to cheer. Seated regally on horseback, clad in splendid robes, she rode through the streets. Her marriage was solemnized in the presence of the Bishop of Evreux, and other of the King of England's messengers who had been deputed for this purpose<sup>27</sup>—that is, evidently, to see the marriage with their own eyes.—The text of Joanna's marriage settlement, signed by Walter of Palermo and Richard of Syracuse, is duly set down in detail by Roger.

So Joanna left a poetry-loving family to become Queen of a poetry-loving court. Unfortunately, she and William had no children; so a period of strife intervened in the next generation, before the parents of Frederick II had established their right to Sicily. In Joanna's lifetime the need of an heir must have caused comment and discussion, at home and abroad. There is some evidence that gossip went so far as to create an imaginary prince, as it so often does create what is wanted. Robert of Torigni, Abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, wrote during William's reign: "*We have heard from certain people that Joanna, Queen of William of Sicily, bore him a first son, whom they called Bohemond. Returning from the baptism, his father invested him with the dukedom of Apulia, by a golden scepter which he carried in his hand.*"<sup>28</sup> Robert, who thus gives only oral authority for his statement, is certainly quite alone in telling the story. Perhaps he heard the likely tale—with the very plausible name for the infant—from southern travelers who passed through Normandy.

<sup>27</sup> II, 94.

<sup>28</sup> P. 303.—Robert died in 1186, before William.

Apart from political and ecclesiastical messengers, such as those who arranged Joanna's marriage, there are few Sicilian scholars to be found visiting England, in exchange for the Englishmen in Sicily. Roger of Hoveden<sup>29</sup> tells of a certain Simon of Apulia who, among others, claimed the deanery of York, and got it, by a ruling of the Pope. The Archbishop of York opposed Simon, even after the Pope's decision, and tried to keep him out of the minster. But he persisted, and in 1195 the Pope committed to him the care of the diocese, because the Archbishop had been suspended for contumacy. Thereafter Simon was all-powerful in York. In 1201 another Sicilian, John of Salerno, cardinal, and legate to Scotland, visited York. The Archbishop tried in vain to have Simon's case arbitrated before him. Simon remained dominant. (It is worth while to note that William of Newburgh calls him "a prudent man, cultivated in letters.")

This occurred after the death of Henry II, in the time of Richard's crusade and after. The crusade, of course, involved the visit of Englishmen to Sicily on a large scale, because Richard stopped there to pick up his widowed sister Joanna, to wait for his bride Berengaria of Navarre, and to contend with Tancred of Sicily over the refunding of Joanna's dowry. Philip of France, also on crusade, joined the brother and sister at Palermo. "Et rex Franciae adeo faciem hilarem exhibebat, quod populus dicebat quod rex Franciae duceret eam in uxorem," says Benedict of Peterborough, in beautifully colloquial Latin;<sup>30</sup> but again popular gossip was wrong. The author of the richly detailed *Itinerarium Regis Richardi*, who accompanied the King in person and wrote on the spot, says nothing about any such interesting flirtation. He does however describe quite circumstantially other things that he saw and heard: the city of Messina, the people (whom he, in emulation of Peter of Blois, calls "homines pessimos et crudeles"), the protracted quarrel of Richard and Tancred—complicated by the strife with Philip of France. He is another chronicler who used eyes and ears to good advantage while he remained there.

With so much intercourse between England and Sicily, it is not surprising to find English affairs mentioned often in the Sicilian

<sup>29</sup> III, p. 222 ff.

<sup>30</sup> II, p. 126.

chronicles, especially the family affairs of Henry II. Naturally the marriage itself is described. But Romualdo Guarna of Salerno, for instance, digresses several times besides, to describe the reconciliation of Pope Alexander with the King of England, and of the King of France with the King of England; to record the election of Hadrian IV (Nicholas Breakspere), "*natione Anglicus, prius Canonicus Regularis*" (p. 28); and to insert a full account of the martyrdom of Thomas Becket. Richard of St. Germano<sup>81</sup> and the author of the anonymous chronicle (A.D. 1000-1212<sup>82</sup>) introduce irrelevant statements about Richard Lion-Heart and his troubles in returning from the Holy Land.

Most interesting of these themes is the preoccupation with Thomas Becket. A close examination of the quarrel between him and Henry II shows good reason for Sicilian concern in it. After Thomas had been exiled in 1164, Henry issued a decree on Christmas Day, exiling all of the Archbishop's kin, young and old. John of Salisbury went into exile at the same time. Since Thomas could not conduct or care for all these people, he sent them into various provinces, with letters from himself commending them to the generosity of princes. A number of these friends and relatives were sent to Sicily, where they received a warm welcome and a permanent home. Carusius,<sup>83</sup> in a note, assures us that the heirs of these refugees were highly respected at Syracuse and elsewhere down to his own times,—that is, the eighteenth century. The correspondence of Thomas and his friends tells us the story of the political currents caused by their presence in Sicily, and the political game of the Englishmen at court.

First, Thomas writes<sup>84</sup> to Stephen of Perche, then Chancellor, explaining his side of the quarrel with Henry, asking help for his co-exiles, and intercession in his own behalf at Rome.

"If any man is a defender of the Law, he is considered an enemy of the King. We are scattered; we have been proscribed. Our crime is the assertion of ecclesiastical liberty . . . We are in exile with all our friends and kin. One of these is my sister's son,

<sup>81</sup> *Cronisti e scrittori sincroni napoletani*, p. 11.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 474.

<sup>83</sup> II, 981, note.

<sup>84</sup> *Opera*, ed. Migne, p. 667.

whom we beg you the more urgently to aid, as it is right for us, who suffer for God, to receive a firmer hope from your nobility. We ask, too, that you believe what he tells you from us, and that you urge God's cause and ours at Rome if you have the chance."

Soon after came the letters of thanks, indicating the cordial reception of the exiles. Queen Margaret herself receives a hearty acknowledgment, evidently delivered by the Prior of St. Crispin's, whom Thomas recommends to her as a man of literary attainments, and worthy of great reverence.—The letter to Richard Palmer<sup>85</sup> is no less warm. It was written after the fall of the minister Stephen of Perche, who had received the first letter. In closing, Thomas "whispers into the ear" of Richard the advice that he should work for the recall of Stephen, "both for reasons which shall at present be nameless, and because by doing so, you will confer a lasting favor on the French King."

Of course, all this meant that the Sicilian court had alienated the favor of Henry II, by committing themselves so wholeheartedly to the side of Thomas and his refugees. At this time the English marriage for William was temporarily broken off by Henry's threats. English messengers in Sicily and at Rome could gain nothing for Henry's side.<sup>86</sup> Then after another grateful, confiding letter to Richard from Thomas, the alignment changes. In a later letter,<sup>87</sup> we find Richard suddenly mentioned as a potential ally of Henry against Thomas. It is said that Richard, by the offer of the see of Lincoln in England, was induced to desert the cause of Thomas. The emissaries carrying this offer also re-urged the marriage project on William to gain him again for the royal side. Whereupon Thomas, receiving the news, wrote in 1169 in some distress to a friend:

"Richard, Bishop elect of Syracuse, has been corrupted, and has helped our enemies with his resources, armed them with his advice, reinforced them with his strength. For they have promised the daughter of the King of England to be married to the King of Sicily himself (in whose territory you have been staying), so that they might secure him for the disaster of the church."

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 624.

<sup>86</sup> John of Salisbury, *Epist.* 271, in Carusius, ii, 980-981.

<sup>87</sup> Carusius, ii, 985.

However, the Archbishop of Canterbury returned from his exile very soon after. He was martyred the next year.

This of course put Henry very badly in the wrong; but it removed an obstacle between him and Sicily. Another appeared, however. Just at this time Peter of Blois was called to court by Henry; and Carusius suspects that his constant diatribes against Sicily were aimed to prevent the marriage (ii, 996). "He poured poison into Henry's ears against Sicily and Sicilians, nor did he cease to vomit forth his hatred, and heap up obstacles," until 1175. In the meantime Henry had softened; his bitter disappointment over his sons had weakened him, and he may have been moved by the very filial letter of consolation which William wrote to him in 1173, when his own sons were rebelling. At all events, the game of Peter of Blois—if game it was—was ended in the next year, when the nuptial emissaries arrived.

Peter had exerted himself in his Sicilian correspondence to prove Henry innocent of the Archbishop's death. Much of his praise of the King is directed to this end. He assures Walter of Palermo, in response to a non-extant letter, that he considers the King blameless. He appeals to the verdict of the Papal commission, the love Henry had once manifested for Thomas, his heartfelt penance for his hasty provocative words, and his devotion to the Saint's memory.<sup>22</sup> Elsewhere in the Sicilian letters he protests his own devotion to Thomas somewhat over-eagerly. So the interest in Thomas and his fate was still keen in Sicily. Romualdo Guarna merely reflects it in his chronicle when he inserts this narrative, otherwise so strangely detailed for an event so remote (p. 34):

"In those days Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, a religious and God-fearing man, was compelled to leave England and seek King Louis in France, during his manly struggle with King Henry for the liberty and rights of the church. The King of France received him with dignity enough, out of reverence for his religion, and kept him honorably in his country for several years. Then Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, returned to the peace of the King of England through the prayers of Pope Alexander and the intercession of the French King, and went back to his church. But after some time the King of England, at the suggestion of evil

<sup>22</sup> *Opera*, p. 195.

men, began to molest men of the church, and take away ecclesiastical rights. When the Archbishop heard this, refusing to swerve from the path of justice and scorning all fear, he opposed the King with steadfast front, like a good shepherd struggling for the liberation of his flock . . . So certain English soldiers, Hugh de Moreville, William de Tracy, Robert de Boroch, Reginald Fitz-Urse and Richard Briton, thinking to please the King,"

attacked him and killed him before the altar. Romualdo concludes with an account of the lamentations over the body, the miracles of St. Thomas, and Henry's protestations of innocence and ignorance.

Another Sicilian author who treats of the Angevin family is Petrus d'Ebulo, author of political lyrics in Latin concerning the civil war that followed William's death. He is strongly partisan; he expends real poetic fervor in upholding the cause of Emperor Henry VI, spouse of William's aunt Constance, against Tancred, who had seized Sicily. His second poem is a panegyric "On the Death of William the Beautiful." It contains a pretty reference to the widowed Joanna:

Sol hominum moritur, superi patiuntur eclipsim,  
Anglica Sicilidem luna flet orba diem.  
Solis ad occasum commotus ecliptat orbis;  
Deflent, astra dolent, flet mare, plorat humus.<sup>39</sup>

The anguish of William's people is described as causing a veritable tempest of grief in Palermo. Petrus goes on to bask in the perfume and color of the flowers at the coronation of the Emperor ("Imperialis Unctio"); he indulges in sarcasms at Tancred because of his dwarfish stature. Then he proceeds to a poem more relevant to our purpose: "The Illustrious King of England, returning from Jerusalem, is Captured and Presented to Augustus."<sup>40</sup> The author boasts that Richard found no avail in his "disgraceful" attempt to evade Henry, "for Caesar sees all things in the world." The King, lurking in disguise, dressed poorly as a stranger, is brought to Caesar's feet. Caesar is represented as addressing him in this wise: "I spare you, though you are saturated with our blood; you may go free, for your right arm redeemed the soil of Jerusalem. Sicily awaits us, which upon a false pretext

<sup>39</sup> Carmen, in *Cronisti e scrittori sincroni*, p. 405.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 426-427.



you took as booty; for you deceived the miserable King (Tancred) only by instilling fear, threatening a war and driving a bargain by means of your sister's claims." To which this literary Richard replies in a tone that would have astonished the real one could he have heard it: "O God who seest all things, thy soldier deserved to be captured thus by his foe. But where is my accuser, O Caesar? Whoever he is, let him test the strength and the arms of a King. Or did I come to fight Caesar alone?—Alas; who could wield arms in this humble garb? O Glory of the Empire, condemn me not unheard. To you I commit myself; I pray that your sword may deal more gently with me than I deserve.—And Caesar (continues Petrus) was touched indeed by this humble prayer—he whom not a thousand talents, nor the word of the highest Father, could move." So much for the imaginings of an Imperial Sicilian poet about the English King.

After so much intercourse with Sicily, one naturally looks for a certain infiltration of Sicilian stories, more or less fabulous, into the English chronicles. And they are there; they are the exchange influence in England for the men who went to Sicily. The marvelous tales of that island are conspicuous in chronicles that are otherwise prosaic enough. So it is with John of Worcester, whose narrative confines itself very closely to English affairs except for two digressions, both of which concern Sicily. The first, under the year 1134, is frankly a wonder tale noted down from hearsay, rather than sober history:<sup>41</sup>

They say that in those days there was a Saracen, a man full of avarice and impiety, who invaded Christian territory and captured two of the faithful, whom he carried back with him, keeping them in prison heavily chained until the day of his great banquet. Then, seated at table, he ordered one of the two Christians brought forth. The knight, trembling outwardly but firm in faith, refused to renounce Christianity. He was tortured, and a venomous ugly reptile was brought to sting him; but the worm would not bite, because the knight remained firm. In the end this knight was crowned with martyrdom, while his companion, who wavered, died a miserable death.

<sup>41</sup> Summarized from pp. 38-39, *Anecdota oxoniensa*, Med. and Mod. Series, xiii, 1908.

The other digression, *sub anno* 1137, is an account of the war waged between Emperor Lothair and King Roger of Sicily, with one mention of their respective antipopes. The mercenary motives of both sides are impartially stressed; neither party, as the author declares, "being pleasing to God."

Another curious use of Sicilian material is to be found in the quotations from the letter which William II wrote to Henry II during the rebellion of the Princes of England. This letter is to be found in full in Roger of Hoveden (i, p. 48). The earlier chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough contains it in a modified version. It is utilized in part to construct the imaginary speech attributed to the Earl of Arundel, who spoke to fire Henry's army with courage at Breteuil (i, p. 53). The writer of the speech evidently had a copy of the letter before him, since MS B of the same chronicle quotes the entire letter.

Besides the tales introducing Mount Aetna already mentioned, we meet another volcano legend in several English sources. Ger-vase of Tilbury records it; Roger of Hoveden and Benedict of Peterborough contain it also. At a certain eruption of "Muntgibel," the sea was dried up and the fishes began to burn in a terrible manner, until the prayers of St. Agatha averted the fire, which threatened to obliterate the city of Catana, where her body reposed. It was a "multitudo paganorum" (villagers) that moved her to intercession; and they arrested the flame by carrying her veil towards it from the sepulchre. The fire thereupon returned into the sea and dried it up for a great distance. Some of the fishes, however, escaped half burnt, in which condition they still remain, and by reason of this are called the fishes of St. Agatha. If any one catches one of these, he lets it go for her sake.

Another widespread story concerns the death of Robert Guiscard (who belonged to the first generation of Norman conquerors in Sicily). It was commonly said that he died of poison, and around this belief several gloomy tales grew up. Ordericus Vitalis (1075-1141), the English author of a *Historia Ecclesiastica*, gives a dramatic version of it, treating the theme with the loving care which he bestows on all Norman affairs, whether Sicilian or English. He tells the story thus:

Sichelguada, wife of that great-souled hero Guiscard, feared and hated her stepson Bohemond, lest he should deprive her own son Roger of Apulia and Calabria. So she had a poison prepared at the famous medical school of Salerno, where Bohemond was being treated for a malady, and ordered that it be given to him there. The youth became deathly ill, and sent a message to his father, who guessed the terrible truth and summoned his wife. Thereupon this dialogue took place, Guiscard speaking first: Is Bohemond living?—I do not know, my Lord.—Go fetch me a Bible and sword . . . I swear that you shall die on this sword, if Bohemond dies of his disease.—Of course Sichelguada hastened to order an antidote. Bohemond recovered, but remained pale forever after. From that day forth the stepmother lived in fear of her husband. To free herself, she administered a poison to him, and fled. Bohemond also took counsel of flight, because his father was dying and his stepmother at large.—And here ends abruptly the story of Ordericus.

William of Newburgh and William of Malmesbury refer to a domestic tragedy of the sort, ending in a poisoning. The former writer evidently knew a more developed version, in which the number of *dramatis personae* is augmented by a villain: Guiscard died "by poison which his wife gave him at the instigation of the Emperor."<sup>42</sup> In Benedict of Peterborough<sup>43</sup> this later version resembles an Elizabethan plot: The Emperor of Constantinople, fearing Robert, promised to marry "Sichelgaita" and make her Empress if she would first dispatch her husband. She agreed heartily. After poisoning Guiscard she fled to Constantinople, where she was duly received and married by the Emperor. He causes her to say, "My lord, you have graciously fulfilled the whole of our compact." Then, calling for silence, he reveals the nature of the compact and the extent of the crime, and turning virtuously to those about him asks for judgment on her. They condemn her to death (knowing their cue). "And so, removed from the bridal-feast to torture, she was thrown on a burning pile and reduced to ashes."

In none of the Sicilian chronicles does this story appear.

I have described how Gervase of Tilbury found King Arthur at home in Sicily. Another Englishman, the companion of Rich-

<sup>42</sup> P. 428.

<sup>43</sup> II, 200-201.

ard I and author of his Itinerary, found Charlemagne there also. When he was in Messina he learned "that this city "was said to have been tributary to the famous King Agolandus," who, according to the Pseudo-Turpin, invaded Spain in the absence of Charlemagne. Godefrey of Viterbo, writing some time before 1190, tells a story which takes Charlemagne through Sicily on his way home from Jerusalem:

Dum rate festina regem vehit unda marina,  
 Urbe Panormina portum capit absque ruina,  
 Omne solum Siculi munera solvit ei.  
 Karolus hic Siculum recreat baptismate regem,  
 Quem iubet ecclesiae Romane sumere legem,  
 Catholici populi docma tulere Dei.  
 Mons ibi stat magnus qui dicitur esse Rollandus  
 Alter Oliverius, simili ratione vocandus,  
 Hec memoranda truces constituere duces.  
 Mons ibi flammaram, quas evomit, Ethna vocatur,  
 Quo lapis ignitus cum sulfure precipitatur,  
 Hoc ibi tartareum dicitur esse caput.<sup>45</sup>

This is a significant passage, since it testifies to more than one Sicilian legend current in the twelfth century. Gaston Paris (*Romania*, v, 110-113) has suggested further connections for Charlemagne in Sicily. He supposes that some poems of the Guillaume d'Orange cycle may have been composed there; and also the unpublished *chanson de geste Renier*, which is localized in great part about Messina. *Renier*, moreover, provides an ancestry for Robert Guiscard dating back to the paladins of Charlemagne.

As a final commentary on this delightful commerce—literary men in exchange for stories—I can do no better than quote an anecdote from the sojourn of Richard Lion-Heart in Sicily. It harks back to the problem of King Arthur in Sicily. Though it adds nothing to our knowledge of his arrival there, it crystallizes very definitely our impression that Arthur was known and appreciated as a heroic figure at the Sicilian court.

When Richard was making peace with Tancred, he drew up an

<sup>44</sup> *Itin.*, p. 154.

<sup>45</sup> *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, xii, p. 222.

agreement concerning the return of Joanna's dowry and a second dowry to be paid to himself for the marriage of Tancred's daughter to young Arthur of Brittany, his nephew. This is the boy of whom William of Newburgh had affirmed (p. 235): "Thus the Britons, who are said to have awaited their fabulous Arthur for ages, are now, according to some people, nourishing a real one on those famous prophecies and tales about Arthur." After the marriage agreement on Arthur's behalf, the leaders in Sicily celebrated their amity by an exchange of presents.<sup>46</sup> "On the fourth day the King of Sicily presented many precious gifts to the King of England, such as vases of gold and silver, horses, and silken stuffs; but he, not lacking such things, would take nothing but a little ring, as a sign of their mutual affection. The King of England, however, presented to him the best sword of that noble Arthur, formerly King of the Britons, which the Britons call Excalibur."

Which leads us to suppose that Sicilian Tancred would be likely to appreciate such a gift.

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<sup>46</sup> Benedict of Peterborough, ii, 159.

## THE FIRST FRENCH SONNETEER <sup>1</sup>

**T**HOUGH the question, who wrote the first French sonnet, was first mooted in the days of Ronsard and du Bellay, now and again, after a period of quiescence, it engages the attention of scholars. It is a thorny question indeed; and, accordingly, we can readily understand Louis de Veyrières' wisdom and condone his timidity when he exclaims: "Comme il y a doute a cet égard, nous abandonnons la controverse a ceux qui sont moins ignorants que nous." <sup>2</sup>

The distinction of introducing the sonnet in France has been offered many writers. Etienne Pasquier declares that: "Celuy qui premier apporta l'usage des sonnets fut le mesme du Bellay par une cinquantaine dont il nous fit présent en l'honneur de son Olive." But Ronsard declares that long before du Bellay

d'un ton plus haut que lui  
Tyard chanta son amoureuse ennuy  
Qui jusqu'a l'os consumoit sa mouëlle  
Pour les beaux yeux de sa dame cruelle.

Du Bellay himself hazards a guess much nearer the truth. He says in the preface to the 1550 edition of the *Olive*: "Ce fut pourquoy a la persuasion de Jacques Peletier je choisi le sonnet, l'ode, deux poëmes de ce temps la (c'est depuis quatre ans) encore peu usités entre les nostres: etant le sonnet d'Italien devenu François, comme je croy, par Mellin de Saint Gelay's."

None of the early writers whom I have been able to consult seems to have thought of Marot in this connexion, yet his claim to have written the first French sonnet is recognised by modern critics to be as substantial and plausible as Saint Gelay's'.

Marot first went to Italy in 1524, in the train of Francis I. He probably then came into contact with Italian writers and their works. At all events, in Epigram LXI (1527), appear the lines

<sup>1</sup> On the origin of the sonnet see E. H. Wilkins, *Mod. Phil.*, XIII, 463.

<sup>2</sup> *Sonnetistes anciens et modernes*, Introduction, 1869.

Petrarque a bien sa maitresse nommée  
Sans amoindrir sa bonne renommée

which, it safely may be assumed, prove that he was familiar with Petrarch, at the least. We need not build, however, on this visit to Italy, which, on account of its nature and purpose, surely must have left him little leisure for books. He could well have become acquainted with Italian literature while at home, as it is too well known to bear repetition that in the first quarter of the sixteenth century there was an invasion of France by Italian art and artists.<sup>3</sup> His first collection of poems appeared in 1532 (some assign 1529), and it was followed within a year by a second, third, and fourth edition. The date assigned to Marot's first sonnet is 1529. The "first sonnet" is in none of these editions. It makes its first appearance in the Lyons edition of 1545, in which it bears no date. It seems that the date 1529 was assigned by l'abbé Langlet in his edition of the *Oeuvres de Clément Marot*, 1731; but he gives no reasons in support of that dating, which has been questioned by Olmsted.<sup>4</sup>

Ten sonnets are represented in Marot's works: <sup>5</sup>

- Vol. I, p. 116 Retirez-vous, bestiaux! eshontez  
abba acca ddefef  
 III, 59 Au ciel n'y a ne planette ne signe  
abba abba ccdeed  
 III, 62 Adolescents qui la peine avez prise  
abba abba ccdeed  
 III, 76 Me souvenant de tes graces divines  
abba abba ccddcd

and translated from Petrarch

- No. 1, Vol. III, p. 148 Vous qui oyez en mes rithmes le son  
 2, III, 149 O pas espars, ô pensées soudaines  
 3, III, 149 Qui voudra veoir tout ce que peut  
nature  
 4, III, 150 Mort, sans soleil tu as laissé le monde

<sup>3</sup> Hauvette, *Luigi Alamanni* (1903, chap. 2) deals with the well-known and typical case of Alamanni.

<sup>4</sup> *The Sonnet in French Literature*, 1897.

<sup>5</sup> *Nouvelle Collection Jannet: Clément Marot*, 1873-76.

- |    |      |     |  |
|----|------|-----|--|
| 5, | III, | 150 | Le premier jour que trépassa la belle            |
| 6, | III, | 151 | Des plus beaux yeulx et du plus clair<br>visage. |

Of the sonnets from Petrarch

- |       |               |              |                            |         |
|-------|---------------|--------------|----------------------------|---------|
| No. 1 | is I          | in Petrarch, | with rime-scheme in sestet | cde cde |
| 2     | is CLXI       |              | with rime-scheme in sestet | cde cde |
| 3     | is CCXLVIII   |              | with rime-scheme in sestet | cde cde |
| 4     | is CCCXXXVIII |              | with rime-scheme in sestet | cde cde |
| 5     | is CCCXLVI    |              | with rime-scheme in sestet | cdc dcd |
| 6     | is CCCXLVIII  |              | with rime-scheme in sestet | cde cde |

All these Marot turned into the regular sonnet<sup>6</sup> form with rime-scheme cdeed in the sestet. Where did Marot obtain this form? In several of his psalms he has used a strophe well known in his day of six (III Psalm III), of eight (XX Psalm XXIV), and of ten syllables (XXXVIII Psalm CIII) with rime-scheme aabccb, which is precisely the rime-scheme of his regular sonnet: cdeed. The sestet with Marot, it will be observed, consists of a couplet plus a quatrain, an arrangement which the Italians never adopted. He may have secured a hint from Petrarch for the use of the two "rimes plates" in the sestet, for Petrarch had employed it four times, in the last two lines however, in each case with rime-scheme cdd dcc (Sonnets XIII, XCIV, CLXVI, CCCXXVI). But whereas Petrarch employs only two rimes Marot uses three. It is impossible to conjecture even when these translations were made.

Of Marot's ten sonnets eight have the regular rime-scheme in the sestet; one has the rime-scheme cdcccd; and the tenth has the nearly amorphous rime-scheme abba acca ddefef. It may be seen that whatever combinations Marot tried, he never lost sight of the idea of making the sestet a couplet plus a quatrain.

Only two of the ten sonnets may be dated. The first (III, 59) is dated in the Jannet edition 1529. Olmsted attacks this date. He claims that it was first assigned by l'abbé Langlet in 1731.<sup>7</sup> In fact, this dating cannot be far wrong. The sonnet bears the heading: "Pour le may plante par les imprimeurs de Lyon devant le logis du seigneur Trivulse." The first quatrain runs

<sup>6</sup> Vianey, *Revue de la Renaissance*, Vol. 4, 1903, p. 74.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., pp. 21, 59.



Au ciel n'y a ne planette ne signe  
 Qui si a point sceut gouverner l'année  
 Comme est Lyon la cité gouvernée  
 Par toi, Trivulse, homme cler et insigne.

The Trivulse here called out is Teodor Trivulse. His real name was Trivulzio, and, of course, he was Italian. He spent nearly all his life in the service of France. At Pavia he saved the remnants of Francis' shattered army. In 1527 he was made governor of Genoa but soon had to abandon the city before the fleet of Andrea Doria. On his return to France he was made governor of Lyons, and he died in this office in 1531. Brantôme tells us that he was exceedingly popular in Lyons. This sonnet then must have been written between the years 1528-1531.

The second of the sonnets that may be dated is the one (III, 76) entitled: "A. M. L. D. D. F., luy estant en Italie." In it occur the lines

Voyant ce lis au milieu des espines

and

O dur mari rempli de violence.

The dedication in conjunction with these two lines indicate beyond any doubt that the sonnet is addressed "A Madame la duchesse de Ferrare," who frequently was ill-treated by her husband, Hercules of Este, and that it was written probably in 1535-1536, when Marot was in Italy at the court of Ferrara as the guest of the duchess.

Marot wrote only one irregular sonnet (I, 116). As regards its rime-scheme it is almost formless, and in this respect has a pendant in Saint Gelay's (Blanchemain I, 284). Their respective rime-schemes are abba acca ddefef and abab bcdd deefef, Marot's being in decasyllabic and Saint Gelay's in octosyllabic lines. Their formlessness would suggest that they are youthful efforts, but this would seem to be negatived in Marot's case by the fact that his sonnet is redundant with Neo-Platonism.

Mellin de Saint Gelay was born in 1487. He prepared himself for the legal profession, and in his early twenties we see him pursuing his studies in Bologna and Padua, whence he returned in 1515, aged 28. His works appeared in a first edition in 1547, and in this edition a single sonnet is represented. In those days men of

letters were slow to publish their productions, and none more so than Saint Gelay. There seems to be little doubt that his sonnets were current in the court and in the city in manuscript form long before they were put into print. Olmsted asks: "Is it not most natural that young Mellin, poetic in temperament and peculiarly open to the influence of the Italian spirit, should have seized and brought back with him that chief of Italian forms, the sonnet?" Waddington concurs in these words of Tilley: "Although it is quite possible or even probable, considering his residence in Italy, and his considerable acquaintance with Italian literature, that Saint Gelay introduced the sonnet into France, the claim, such as it is, apparently cannot be proved."

Twenty-two sonnets survive from Saint Gelay. Of these nine are regular.<sup>8</sup> For treatment in this paper I shall divide Saint Gelay's sonnets into groups.

Group I. Nine sonnets with the regular rime-scheme *ccdeed*:

- |             |        |  |
|-------------|--------|--|
| Blanchemain | I, 78  | Voyant ces monts de veue ainsi lointaine |
|             | I, 281 | Si l'amitié chaste honorable et sainte   |
|             | I, 285 | Cheveux d'argent refrangé et retort      |
|             | I, 292 | Si la merveille unie a verité            |
|             | I, 294 | Après l'heureuse honnorable conquete     |
|             | I, 295 | J'estois assis au milieu des neuf soeurs |
|             | I, 297 | Je suis jaloux, je le veu confesser      |
|             | I, 298 | Ceux qui au ciel furent pieça receus     |
| III,        | 112    | Sonnet a Pierre Ronsard.                 |

From dedications, notes appended to them by the author, or internal evidence, six of these sonnets may be dated, absolutely in some cases and approximately in others.<sup>9</sup> They range from 1547

<sup>8</sup> Passim it may be remarked that Olmsted, repeating Blanchemain, says that in over half of his sonnets Saint Gelay followed the purely Italian model (p. 52). In point of fact, 16 of the 22 sonnets divide into couplet plus quatrain, or quatrain plus couplet, an arrangement not Italian.

<sup>9</sup> I, 292

Si la merveille unie a verité

has the words "Pour mettre au devant de l'histoire des Indes." Le Monnoye, quoted in his notes by Blanchemain, thinks that this history is one translated from the Spanish by one Jean Polear and published in 1555. Blanchemain thinks that the reference is to the *Voyages aventureux* of Jean-Alfonse Saintongeais, which Saint Gelay rearranged after the death of the author, and which were published in 1559. The last lines of the sonnet

to 1555. Of a seventh we can with little fear say that it belongs to the same period.<sup>10</sup> Of the remaining two, we can gather no indication of their probable date from Saint Gelay's or even approximate it from internal evidence. The first of the two

Voyant ces monts de veue ainsi lointaine  
is a translation from Sannazaro.<sup>11</sup> The second  
Cheveux d'argent refrangé et retort

C'est au dauphin a voir ces mers estranges,  
C'est a lui seul a remplir de louanges  
La grand'rondeur du paternel croissant

refer to the *devise* of Henry II, who succeeded to the throne in 1547, which was a crescent with this motto: *Donec totum impleat orbem.*

I, 294

Après l'heureuse honorable conquête

carries this dedication: "Pour le masque de Monsieur de Martigues à la cour, après qu'il eut épousé Madame Laval." Again quoting Le Monnoye, Blanchemain informs us that Charles, vicomte de Martigues, had married Claude de Foix, widow of the comte de Laval, who died in 1547.

I, 295

J'estois assis au milieu des neuf soeurs

is dedicated: "Du Roy Henry (II) au commencement de son règne.

I, 297

Je suis jaloux, je le veux confesser

has appended to it the note, "Faict apres le sermon du jour de la Trinité à Esclai-ron 1548."

I, 298

Ceux qui au ciel furent pieça receus

was composed, we are told in the heading, on the occasion "de deux masques en Rugier et Marphise à un faict darmes a Blois 1550."

III, 112

Sonnet a Pierre de Ronsard  
Sur son liivre intitulé: les Bocages.

*Les Bocages* was first published in 1554.

<sup>10</sup> I, 281

Si l'amitié chaste honorable et sainte

bears the heading, "Faict au nom de Mademoiselle de Traves, Hélène de Clermont, qui a depuis esté Madame de Grammont, pour respondre a un autre sonnet d'un Italien qui avait esté serviteur de sa feu mere Hélène de Boisy, morte a Marseilles le 29 Octobre 1533." In a footnote we are told that Hélène de Boisy, widowed, married François de Clermont in 1527 of whom she mothered Hélène de Clermont. So it is unlikely that this sonnet was written before the 1540's.

<sup>11</sup> For a full discussion of this sonnet and its translations the reader may consult John M. Berdan, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Feb., 1908; John M. Berdan and L. E. Kastner, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, 4, 240; L. E. Kastner, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, 3, 274; and Agnes Foxwell, *A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems*, p. 61.

is from Berni. As neither is dated in the works of Sannazaro and Berni we are afforded no proof of *the time before which* they could *not* have been translated. With respect to Sannazaro's sonnet, 1530, 1531, and 1533 are variously given as the dates of publication.

Group II. Six sonnets with various rime-schemes that can be dated in all but one case, and in this case its period may be roughly approximated. All but the last were written before 1547.

If we examine the thirteen remaining sonnets, we shall find that four of them, three with rime-scheme cddcee and one with rime-scheme cddcdd, were composed between the years 1536 and 1547. A fifth, with rime-scheme cddcee, in honor of Marot, is very probably referable to the 1530's, alluding as it does to a lady thought to be Marguerite de Navarre. A sixth, with rime-scheme cde cde, was, beyond any doubt, composed in the 1550's, and is the only non-regular sonnet extant which Saint Gelys wrote after 1547. The six sonnets of this group are <sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> I, 287

Rien ne se fait des grands en ces bas lieux

This sonnet was composed in 1544 or 1545. Its theme is a promise made to Charles, the third son of Francis I, by Charles V to marry to him his daughter or his niece. This promise was consecrated in the treaty of Crespy, Sept. 18, 1544. Charles died on Sept. 9, 1545.

I, 290

Un grand devin tost après la naissance

is dated 1544 by the author himself.

I, 296

Vous que second la noble France honore

was written while Henry II was still the dauphin. In it there is a covert reference to Diane de Poitiers. Henry became dauphin in 1536 on the death of his brother Francis. His liaison with Diane began about 1537. This poem therefore was written between 1537 and 1547.

I, 299

Ne craignez point, plume bien fortunée

is explained by Saint Gelys in these words: "Mis au devant d'un petit traité que je fis intitulé: *Advertissement sur les jugemens d'astrologie à une studieuse damoiselle.*" Blanchemain claimed that he had a copy of this pamphlet with this sonnet on the frontispiece and that it was published at Lyons in 1546.

II, 262

Sonnet a Clément Marot

Marot died in 1544. The theme is Marguerite d'Angoulême. Its approximate date cannot be fixed, though it is probably referable to the 1530's.

- I, 287 Rien ne se fait des grands en ces bas lieux . . . . cddcee  
 I, 290 Un grand devin tost après la naissance . . . . cdcdcd  
 I, 296 Vous que second la noble France honore . . . . cddcee  
 I, 299 Ne craignez point, plume bien fortunée . . . . cddcee  
 II, 262 Sonnet a Clément Marot . . . . . cdcddee  
 II, 300 A Nicholas de Herberay . . . . . cdcddee

The conclusion I deduce from the facts presented under Groups I and II is: that from the year 1547 to the year 1555 Saint Gelay was cultivating the regular form of the sonnet with rime-scheme *cdcdcd*, originated by Marot in 1528-1531; and accordingly the sonnets from Sannazaro and Berni were translated at some time between 1547 and 1557, the year of his death.

Group III. Seven sonnets of various rime-schemes, the dates of which, except perhaps in one case, cannot be approximated even. They are

Rime-scheme  
of sestet

- I, 280 Asseure suis d'estre pris et lié . . . . . cdcdcd  
 I, 283 Ces roses-cy par grande nouveauté . . . . . cdcdcd  
 I, 284 Non feray, je n'en feray rien . . . . . abab bcdd defgfg  
 I, 288 Il n'est point tant de barques à Venise . . . . . cdcdcd  
 I, 300 Du triste coeur voudrais la flamme esteindre . . . . cdcddee  
 II, 254 Grace a Dieu . . . . . cdcdede  
 II, 293 Epitaphe de Marie Compagne . . . . . cdcddee

The exception half-heartedly made in the rubric of this group is the last sonnet listed. In II, 176 there is a six-line poem entitled: *De Marie Compagne*. In a note to this poem Blanchemain says: "Des Essarts aurait été marié deux fois et Marie Compagne serait sa seconde femme. J'ai trouvé quelque part ce renseignement: Jeanne de Neufville épousa, en 1521, Herberay des Essarts. . . ." Accordingly, this indication being of the faintest, the date of the Epitaphe need not detain us.

In this group three sonnets show a division of the sestet into  
 II, 300

#### A Nicholas de Herberay

urges him to publish his translation of *Amadis de Gaule*. He had been ordered to translate this romance by Francis I, and he seems to have worked on the translation in the period 1540-1548. He translated only the first eight books, which were published in 1555. This sonnet then is probably referable to the period 1547-1555, and is the only one in the Italian form which we can place in this period, all the others as I have before said being in the regular form.

quatrain plus couplet or couplet plus quatrain, and two additional ones have the quatrain but without the couplet. Saint Gélays decidedly was not an initiator; he was satisfied to plod along the trail another had opened; in fact, he was a follower of Marot, though older. Let us bring the various facts which I have set forth together: that is, Saint Gélays' lack of originality, his willingness to follow, his use of the quatrain in the sestet, the fact that Marot no later than in 1531 had composed a regular sonnet; from this assemblage of facts I venture to say that the sonnets in which Saint Gélays uses either a quatrain alone in the sestet, or couplet and quatrain in either order, are probably variations he played on Marot's original form; that in the period between 1531 and 1547 he essayed a number of different variations, and after 1547 to the end of his life he definitely committed himself to the pure Marot form.

Thus far I have attempted to fix a *terminus a quo* for Saint Gélays' sonnets, and in the attempt I have dealt with nineteen sonnets. If I leave out of consideration the amorphous poem I have already alluded to, called by some not a sonnet but a quatorzain, two sonnets remain upon which I am not bold enough to hazard a word (I, 283, II, 254).

The French regular sonnet has two rime-schemes in the sestet: ccdeed and ccdeed. Of the first type, nine specimens (Group I) survive from Saint Gélays. If he wrote any of the second type—a type<sup>18</sup> created by du Bellay, and clearly a variation of the first type created by Marot—no example has come down to us. The regular sonnet then divides the sestet into a couplet plus a quatrain. But if the regular sonnet must show the rime-schemes just given, not only must the sestet be decomposed into a couplet plus a quatrain, but it must possess three different rimes: c-d-e. If those be the earmarks of the regular sonnet, then although sixteen of Saint Gélays' sonnets show a division into quatrain and couplet or couplet and quatrain, yet only nine of them are regular. Marot never used the division quatrain plus couplet. Nor did Saint Gélays use the form with a final couplet to give point to an epigram, as the Italians had done before him, for his only sonnet with an epigrammatic ending (I, 288) has the rime-scheme ccddcc.

<sup>18</sup> Vianey, op. cit.

Blanchemain, in his note to sonnet I, I, 280, says: "Saint Gelay, qu'on croit avoir amené le sonnet en France, a presque toujours suivi la manière des Italiens, y disposant comme eux les rimes de ses tercets." This remark Olmsted, p. 53, echoes. If Vianey is right in saying that none of the Italian sonnets divide in the sestet into quatrain and couplet, or show a quatrain even though without a couplet (cdcdcd), Blanchemain's and Olmsted's observations are unsound. In point of fact, we have from Saint Gelay a bare four sonnets fashioned upon Italian models. And as he has translated only two sonnets from the Italian, so far as I know, his impressionability to Italian influences, upon which some writers have confidently built, appears a very weak argument indeed, at least so far as it relates to the sonnet.

To resume my argument: The first sonnet published in France was Marot's in 1545; not until 1547 did Saint Gelay publish any. The first regular sonnet in France was composed by Marot in 1528-1531; not until 1547 did Saint Gelay adopt it, though he seems to have been experimenting with a like form in the period between 1531 and 1547. The first French sonnet that can be dated was written by Marot in 1528-1531; no sonnet of Saint Gelay can be dated before 1536.

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## DONA MARIA DE ZAYAS Y SOTOMAYOR: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF HER WORKS

### CHAPTER III

#### THE NOVELAS

##### I.—*General Characterization*

In spite of her adaptability, skill and manifest success in the realm of verse, the fame of Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor rests almost wholly on her short stories. The suggestion has already been made that, notwithstanding her fearlessness, she was still uncertain as to the reception of her work by the public. Her preface to the *Novelas* is almost an apology, and is fortified in the earlier editions by a "word" from one who claims to be impartial and unbiased in his judgment. His espousal of the book is not signed, so we have no definite idea as to who this person can be, but the text of his warm recommendation would lead one to believe that the bookseller had collaborated in its rather extravagant praise. He cannot imagine anyone disliking the book or doubting in any way the marvelous and stupendous genius revealed in its pages. He is sure that the book will go down through the ages as unique of its kind and adds that even then it is the wonder of all living beings. (Is this an example of conservative advertising in the seventeenth century?) He continues in this strain, with the assurance that Genius welcomes the author with the applause due to a most remarkable woman, who stands as the Glory of Manzanares and an honor to Spain. In the *Academias* of Madrid she has been lauded as a phoenix of learning! Concerning her book, the eulogist feels very strongly that the reader should not only read it but should own it. He should not borrow it, nor should he furtively read it in the book-stalls to save buying it, for that is no way to read a good book, and a very easy way to miss the good it contains. Thus a great wrong is sometimes done to both the author and the bookseller through ill-considered criticism. It is also unfair to impose on the kindness of the bookseller by borrowing it over night, to return the next day, probably in poor condition. Prospective buyers see it



has been returned, are suspicious of its value, and do not buy. (Could any but the bookseller have presented his case so earnestly?) These precautions and fears were however needless, for the *Novelas* were eagerly bought and read and became very popular. In the second part of her work, published about ten years later, Doña María speaks proudly of the success of her earlier venture and of the jealousy displayed by other authors at the welcome accorded these writings from the pen of a woman.<sup>1</sup>

The first part of the *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares* was originally published about the year 1637 at Zaragoza, and contains the following tales: *Aventurarse perdiendo*; *La burlada Aminta*; *El castigo de la miseria*; *El prevenido engañado*; *La fuerza del amor*; *El desengañado amado*; *Al fin se paga todo*; *El imposible vencido*; *El juez de su causa*; *El jardín engañoso*. There is an edition of 1635 mentioned by Brunet<sup>2</sup> and one of 1636 mentioned by Ochoa,<sup>3</sup> but research seems to disprove these dates, and to justify the suggestion that these two authorities respectively mistook for the date of publication the dates of two successive Ecclesiastical Approvals—one of 1635 and the other of 1636—both of which appear in the first edition of 1637. Furthermore, the edition of 1638 and nearly all subsequent editions are advertised as “*corrected and amended*,” but the edition of 1637,<sup>4</sup> copies of which are still extant, bears no such notice.

<sup>1</sup> “Que trabajos del entendimiento, el que sabe lo que es lo estima, y él que no lo sabe, su ignorancia le disculpa; como sucedió en la primera parte de este sarao, que si unos le desestimaron, ciento le aplaudieron y todos le buscaron, y le buscan, y ha gozado de tres impresiones, dos naturales, y una hurtada.” *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares*. Paris 1847. *La Inocencia castigada*, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> *Manuel du Libraire et de l'Amateur de Livres*; par Jacques-Charles Brunet. 6 vols. Paris, 1864, p. 1530, vol. v.

In *Scarron Inconnu*, by Henri Chardon, Paris 1903, the date of 1634 is given as that of the publication of the first and second parts of the work of Doña María de Zayas at Barcelona. Needless to say, this is an error, for the author herself speaks of the separate publication of the two parts of the *Novelas*, the first antedating the second by a number of years.

<sup>3</sup> *Tesoro de Novelistas Esp. antiguos y modernos*. Paris, 1847.

<sup>4</sup> *Novelas | Amorosas, y | Ejemplares | Compuestas por Doña | María de Zayas y Sotomayor, na- | tural de Madrid. | Con Licencia, | En Zaragoza, En el Hospital Real, y Gñl de N. Senora | de Gracia, Año 1637. | A costa de Pedro Esquer, Mercader de libros. | 8º. Aprobacion de Maestro Joseph de Valdivielso, Madrid a 2 de Junio de 1636.—Licencia del Doctor Juan de Mendieta:*

The library of the Hispanic Society of America in New York possesses, besides the edition of 1637, several editions of the *Novelas* published at Zaragoza in 1638, and one at Barcelona in 1648. In the editions thus far mentioned, only the First Part of the *Novelas* appears. In the introduction to the third novel of the Second Part of her work, Doña María states that the First Part of the novels had undergone three printings, two of these legitimate and one stolen. Leaving out of consideration the possible editions of 1635 and 1636, the authenticity of which seems dubious, we are confronted with the extant edition of 1637, two editions of 1638—all three of the foregoing printed in Zaragoza by the same bookseller—and one of 1646, printed in Barcelona. Did the author consider the two editions of 1638 as constituting one reprinting, and then that of Barcelona as the one unauthorized? <sup>5</sup>

The second part together with the first part of the novels appeared for the first time in 1647, according to Nicolás Antonio.<sup>6</sup> The novels contained in the second part are *La esclava de su amante*; *La mas infame venganza*; *La inocencia castigada*; *El verdugo de su esposa*; *Tarde llega el desengaño*; *Amar solo por vencer*; *Mal presagio casar lejos*; *El traidor contra su sangre*; *La perseguida triunfante*; *Estragos que causa el vicio*. Manuel Serrano y Sanz mentions an edition of 1649 not indicated elsewhere containing only the second part of the *Novelas*. No note is made as to where the book is to be found.

Madrid a 4 de Junio de 1626 [sic].—Aprovacion y licencia del Doctor D. Juan Domingo Briz, Zaragoza de Mayo de 1635.—A Doña María de Zayas, Décimas, el Dr. Joseph Adrian de Angaiz.—Décimas de María Caro de Mallén.—Redondillas de Doña Isabel Tintor, natural de Madrid.—Soneto de Doctor Juan Pérez de Montaluan.—Soneto de D. Alonso de Castillo Solórzano.—Soneto de Francisco de Aguirre Vaca.—Décima de D. Alonso Bernardo de Quirós.—Soneto de Diego de Pereira en portugues.—Soneto de Doña Ana Inés Victoria de Mires y Arguillur.—Soneto de D. Victorian Joseph de Esmir y Casanate.—Al que leyere. Prologo de vn desapassionado.

A copy of this edition may be found in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America, and in the Ticknor Collection, Boston Public Library.

<sup>5</sup> C. Pérez Pastor tells us that the printers and booksellers paid very little attention to the wishes or copyright privileges of the authors. *Bibl. Madrileña*, vol. i, p. xlii.

<sup>6</sup> I have not succeeded in locating this edition in the catalogue or on the shelves of any library or museum.

With this exception, all the editions published after 1647 contain both the first and second parts. They are as follows: 1648, Barcelona (to be found in the British Museum); 1659, Madrid (Hispanic Society); 1664, Madrid (British Museum); 1705, Barcelona (British Museum); 1724 and 1729, Madrid (mentioned by Serrano y Sanz); 1734, Barcelona (Hispanic Society); 1748, Madrid and 1752, Barcelona (mentioned by Brunet; I can find no other mention of this edition); 1764, Barcelona (British Museum); 1786, Madrid (Hispanic Society); 1795, Madrid (British Museum); 1814, Madrid (Hispanic Society); 1847, Paris (Hispanic Society).

Some of the *Novelas* have appeared in collections which are easily accessible. There is the *Tesoro de Novelistas Españoles Antiguos y Modernos*, con una introducción y noticias de Eugenio de Ochoa, published in Paris, 1847, which contains four of the *Novelas*: *El Castigo de la miseria*; *La Fuerza del Amor*; *El Juez de su causa*; *Tarde llega el desengaño*.

The *Biblioteca de la Mujer* is a collection of selected works by various authors, edited by Emilia Pardo Bazán, for the purpose of presenting to women a library on scientific, historical and philosophical subjects best suited for the expansion of knowledge. The third volume of this series contains eight of the short stories by Doña María de Zayas. They are: *Aventurarse perdiendo*; *El castigo de la miseria*; *La fuerza del amor*; *El desengañado amado*; *La inocencia castigada*; *El verdugo de su esposa*; *El traidor contra su sangre*; *Estragos que causa el vicio*.

There are two collections of translations of some of the short stories into French. One appeared as early as 1656, containing six of the tales, bearing the title: *Les Nouvelles amoureuses et exemplaires per cette merveille de son siècle, Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor, traduites de l'espagnol par Ant. de Methel (D'Ouville)*; Paris, de Luynes 1656, in-8°.† The stories included in this collection are: *La Precaution inutile*; *S'aventurer en perdant*; *La Belle invisible, ou la Constance éprouvée (La Fuerza del amor)*; *L'Amour*

† Brunet lists this collection as containing only five of the tales, but Henri Chardon in *Scarron Inconnu* quotes D'Ouville as dedicating to Mademoiselle de Mancini six stories translated from the works of Doña María de Zayas, giving titles.

*se paie avec l'amour* (*El juez de su causa*); *La Vengeance d'Amintie affrontée* (*La burlada Aminta*); *A la fin tout se paye*.

The second collection is entitled *Nouvelles de Doña María Dezayas*, traduites de l'Espagnol, Paris; G. Quinet, 1680. 3 tom. in 24°. Tr. by C. Vanel.<sup>8</sup> The table of contents reads: t. I: *L'heureux desespoir; Amint trahie, ou L'honneur vengé; L'avare puny*. Tome 2: *La précaution inutile; La force de l'amour; L'amour désabusé, ou La récompense de la Vertu; Un bienfait n'est jamais perdu*.

A German translation is mentioned in the Catalogue of the British Museum under the title, "*Die lehrreichen Erzählungen und Liebesgeschichten der Donna M. de Z. und S.*" It is by Sophie Brentano in two volumes and published in Penig in 1806.<sup>9</sup>

In English, there seems to be only a single translation of one of the *Novelas*, and that is *The Miser Chastised* to be found in the *Spanish Novelists*, vol. ii, by T. Roscoe, 1832.

These are the acknowledged translations; there are others, however, introduced in the works of certain writers, the credit for which is not given to the original author. They appear ostensibly as the product of the translator. A comparison of the *Précaution inutile* by Scarron<sup>10</sup> with the *Prevenido engañado* by Doña María de Zayas shows that the two are identical, and is an instance illustrative of the unscrupulous practice of some authors.

The first part of the *Novelas* consists of a series of ten short stories purporting to be told respectively by five young men and five young women, gathered together for the Christmas holidays at the home of one of the young ladies, who is recovering from an

<sup>8</sup> This description is taken from the Catalogue of the Library of Congress. The notice given by Manuel Serrano y Sanz of the same book indicates that there are 5 vols. in 12°, with the date MDCLXXX. Brunet describes this work thus: "5 part. in-12, qui se reliant ordinairement en 2 vols. Cette traduction est anonyme. Barbier l'attribue à D'Ouville, en la confondant avec la précédente de 1656, qui porte le nom de Le Methel, ou de Methel; mais elle est de Vanel, ainsi que celui-ci nous l'apprend dans la dédicace de sa traduction des *Alivios de Casandra*, impr. à Paris, 1683, 3 tom. en 1 vol. in-12."

<sup>9</sup> *Trésor de Livres Rares et Précieux*: par Jean George Théodore Graesse. Dresde, 1867, vol. vi, p. 508.

<sup>10</sup> *Les Nouvelles tragi-comiques de M. Scarron*. Tome premier, Paris. (Ed. of 1731 consulted).

illness and is in need of entertainment. The second part of the *Novelas*, also consisting of ten stories, is a continuation of the first part in the sense that it is concerned with the same party of young people, gathered to celebrate the pre-marriage festivities of two of their number. There is a difference, however; for here only the young women narrate, and the ten tales are all occupied with relating incidents showing how women are misjudged and, in consequence, most unfairly treated by men.

There is, of course, nothing original in this manner of bringing together a number of disconnected tales by a thread of narrative. It is obviously an imitation of the method of Boccaccio in his *Decameron*. Emilia Pardo Bazán calls it a "felicitous imitation" of the great Italian novelist; and it is not surprising that Doña María de Zayas should have adopted this method, since it has always been popular, and has continued in vogue from the 14th century down to the present time. As is well known, the Italian influence was felt very early in Spain. There was always a connection with Italy through commerce and through a certain homogeneous current of sympathetic understanding. Boccaccio's writings were eagerly welcomed by the Spanish, and his tales copied wholly or in part. His influence was extensive and not in the least short lived. Dr. Bourland, in her valuable treatise<sup>10a</sup> on the *Decameron* in Spain, says: "To the Spanish moralists of the 15th century, Boccaccio is an authority; through Sannazaro, whose *Arcadia* goes back to Boccaccio's *Ameto*, he is the founder of the Pastoral Novel in Spain, while the Spanish Sentimental Novel springs directly from him." At first, Boccaccio was better known in Spain through his works other than the *Decameron*, such as the *Fiammeta*, the *Corbaccio*, *Caída de Principes*, etc. These exercised a certain literary influence, but the *Decameron* later surpassed them all in its deeper and more far-reaching effects. Although this work was translated into Spanish as early as 1496 (edition of Sevilla), yet its influence was not strongly felt until the middle of the sixteenth century in the *Coloquios Satíricos* of Antonio de Torquemada (1553) and the *Patrañuelo* of Juan de Timoneda (1566)—an influence which reached its apogee in the seventeenth century. In re-telling and imitating these Italian tales the Spanish adapted them

to their new surroundings, infused into them the Spanish atmosphere and made them far more romantic and adventurous than the originals. At the same time, the idea of the framework used in the *Decameron* was closely followed, but with just enough variation to distinguish the adaptations from the original.

Among the illustrations of this influence the following may be noted. Lucas Hidalgo in his *Carnestolendas de Castilla* (1605) has interwoven his tales into an account of Carnival festivities.—In *El Pasajero* (1617), by Suarez de Figueroa, stories are told in the interludes of a journey made by two travellers; Salas Barbadillo, in *La Casa del Placer honesto* (1620), tells of four students of the University of Salamanca who, tired of their studies, set up an establishment in Madrid, where they entertain their friends and guests with various sorts of diversion, most important of which is the recounting of short stories.—Francisco Lugo y Davila, in his work entitled *Novelas morales* (1622), uses the device of three friends amusing themselves by taking turns in narrating stories during the tiresome afternoons.

*The Cigarrales of Toledo* (1624) by Tirso de Molina consists of a collection of tales, plays and poems presented by the different members of a party of friends who are seeking entertainment at several *cigarrales* or country seats near Toledo. The device is similar to that adopted in the *Novelas* of Doña María de Zayas in that the entertainments are in turn under the leadership of various members of the assembled company.—Alonso de Castillo Solórzano has also followed the accustomed plan in his *Tardes entretenidas* (1626), *La Huerta de Valencia*, *Los Alivios de Casandra* (1640), *Jornadas alegres* (1626), and *La Quinta de Laura* (1649) where a number of young ladies are met at Laura's country house and amuse themselves and each other by telling stories.—Even Juan Pérez de Montalban yielded to the fashion. In his *Para Todos* (1632), a country house is made the scene for the narrating of short stories, the presentation of plays, and the discussion of scientific subjects.

*The Auroras de Diana* (1632) by Pedro de Castro y Anaya is so called because the stories are related in the morning for the amusement of Diana, a lady of the court, who is in the country

recovering from an illness.—In the prologue to his *Novelas ejemplares*, Cervantes states his intention of writing a book to be called *Semanas del Jardín*, a work of which, unfortunately, nothing further is known. Owing to his closely following death, it is probable that he never wrote it. However, his intention is significant in that it indicates that he, too, who prided himself on his originality and affected to scorn the various imitations of the *Decameron*,<sup>11</sup> was himself influenced to consider this form of prose fiction, which at the time was the current type of popular novel.

Small wonder that Doña María regaled her public with what the public desired. However, let it be said to her credit that, although adopting, and adapting to her use, some of the plots of the *Decameron*, yet she manifests an effort to refrain from utilizing its substance and seeks her sources elsewhere or essays to draw upon her own creative genius. In giving to the *Novelas amorosas* the descriptive title of *ejemplares*, she was doubtless following the example of Cervantes, who, desirous of distinguishing his work from the many licentious imitations of Boccaccio with which Europe was overrun during the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries, qualified them as exemplary and moral. The novels of Doña María de Zayas are sprightly and sometimes a little crude, but scarcely objectionable enough to be termed licentious. Whatever adverse criticism has been bestowed upon them in this respect should be regarded as undeserved. Doña María is justified by the loftiness of her underlying purpose, namely, the enlightenment of her sex, and by her effective protest against the tyranny of man and the warning note she sounds to women to beware of the snares and temptations of the world. They must be judged in accordance with the period in which they were written. A study of contemporary life and letters will furnish the correct perspective. In such a survey, a certain superficial crudeness and grossness is observable in the morals of the time and in the subjects openly discussed in society, subjects that imply a somewhat startling contrast with the standards of a later day.

<sup>11</sup> "Yo soy el primero que he novelado en lengua castellana; que las muchas novelas que en ella andan impresas todas son traducidas de lenguas estrangeras, y estas son mías propias, no imitadas ni hurtadas; mi ingenio las engendró y las parió mi pluma, y van creciendo en los brazos de la estampa." Prologue to the *Novelas ejemplares*.

2.—*El Jardín engañoso*

Like the majority of writers of this period, as has been intimated, Doña María de Zayas found the sources of some of her novels in the Italian writers then so popular, foremost among them Boccaccio. This is well illustrated in her tenth story of the first part of the *Novelas*, which bears the title *El Jardín engañoso* (The Magic Garden). Florence Nightingale Jones in her study of *Boccaccio and His Imitators* states that this tale has its origin in the fifth novel of the tenth day of the *Decameron*.<sup>12</sup> Boccaccio, however, had already told the same story with slight variations in his *Filocolo*, in the *Thirteen Questions of Love*. It is Question IV in the fourth book. As has been stated, others of Boccaccio's works than the *Decameron* were familiar to the Spanish, and there might be very reasonable doubt as to whether Doña María de Zayas drew from the *Decameron* or from the *Filocolo*.<sup>13</sup> A careful examination of the three tales concerned, however, suggests that she was influenced by both.

In the story as it is told in the *Decameron*, Dianora, the wife of Gilberto, is loved by Ansaldo, whose attentions are a source of annoyance and embarrassment to her. Wishing to dispose of this unwelcome suitor, she makes what she considers an impossible demand, promising, upon its accomplishment, to yield to his courtship. He is to present her in the month of January with a garden which shall be as lovely, luxuriant and complete as if the season were the month of May. In default of this, he must desist from his attentions; otherwise she will openly denounce him to her husband and her friends.

Nothing daunted, the perplexed lover seeks out a magician who on the first day of January is able to construct in a meadow near the city a beautiful garden, that is even more wonderful than the lady had imagined. From it he sends fruits and flowers to Dianora, begging her to go and view it for herself, and reminding her of the promise she had made him. In company with her ladies, Dianora visits the enchanted spot; with sorrow and amazement she realizes that she has indeed placed herself in an apparently inextricable

<sup>12</sup> Univ. Chicago, 1910.

<sup>13</sup> May be read in Spanish in *Las trece cuestiones*. Toledo 1549.



predicament. In contrition she relates all to her husband. At first he is angry with her, but then, reflecting that her intentions had been upright, his mood softens and he simply chides her for having made any sort of covenant, reminding her that with lovers nothing is impossible. Because she has given her word he insists upon her keeping it, and sends her to Ansaldo's house in fulfilment of her promise. Reluctantly she follows his commands and presents herself before the man who had succeeded in overcoming supposedly insuperable obstacles. However, when Ansaldo learns that it is Dianora's husband who has sent her to him, he marvels at such generosity and, moved by the noble act, finds himself unable to accept so great a sacrifice. Instead, he sends Dianora back to her husband, vowing that he will not take advantage of such magnanimity. Through this dénouement, the ties of a deep friendship are cemented between the two men, who perceive in each other traits of extraordinary nobility and generosity of character. The magician, not to be outdone in these qualities, refuses to accept any remuneration for his labors. [The story is followed by the question as to the generosity of Ansaldo as compared with that of the hero of another tale.]

This is the story as it stands in the *Decameron*. Doña María was not satisfied simply to translate the story, but, as was the custom with the Spanish adapters of the Italian *Novelle*, she elaborated the theme, and so successfully localized the setting, adding or omitting incidents and characters and introducing manners and customs typical of her own country, that she completely transplanted the story into Spanish literature, and so imbued it with the peculiar atmosphere of the land that it seems quite naturally to belong there. In her version of the *Magic Garden* we find all the tendencies of the literature of the time. In her elegance of style and expression is indicated the influence of Góngora, while in the predominant interest of action and adventure we become aware of the negligence in character portrayal which is so typical of the period. In these transplanted bits of fiction there is an added interest in the exploitation of much that is chivalrous, romantic and heroic, much that is imaginative and fanciful. Doña María has transferred the action to Zaragoza, a city which she extols in extravagant metaphor.

This seems to have been the general manner of beginning these short stories. Whatever city was chosen as the stage for action was the "finest and the best, the jewel that twinkled brightest in the crown of Castile." It was as if these innovators composed by formula.<sup>14</sup> The procedure is almost always the same. Interest in the introduction of minute details is illustrated by the fact that instead of plunging directly into the story, as did Boccaccio when he related that "a worthy lady, named Dianora, the wife of a very agreeable man and one of great wealth, called Gilberto, had taken the fancy of a great and noble lord, called Ansaldo," Doña María de Zayas takes the pains to explain the parentage, with all its attendant incidents, of the heroine of the story. Constanza is her name, and that of her sister, Teodosia. Here, in the addition of the sister, is an example of elaboration of the original theme—a subtheme, as it were, that forms an integral part of the narrative. D. Jorge falls in love with Constanza and his brother Federico with Teodosia. Teodosia is indifferent to Federico but interested in D. Jorge. He jealously adds more intricacy to the plot in that she succeeds in making trouble between her sister and her chosen lover by intimating to him that Constanza and Federico have a secret bond between them. In jealous rage, D. Jorge kills his brother Federico and embarks for Naples in flight. The death of the father of the two girls shortly afterwards leaves them in possession of considerable wealth. With time, Constanza gradually overcomes the disappointment and sorrow of her lover's unexplained desertion. When a visiting nobleman takes up his residence across the street from her home, and, smitten by her charms, seeks to win her love, she is willing to be courted by the amiable stranger. The latter, however, more noble than wealthy, is clever enough to overcome his lack of fortune through stratagem. He courts the mother's favor until he is assured of her interest, then, with the connivance of a physician, he pretends a mortal illness from which it seems unlikely that he can recover. When his life is despaired of, he calls Constanza's mother to his bedside to beg her permission to bequeath all his possessions to her daughter, with whom he is in love. The mother

<sup>14</sup> Consult *Las Novelas Ejemplares de Cervantes: Sus críticos, etc.*, by Francisco A. de Icaza. Madrid 1915, p. 257.

consents and the sum of 100,000 ducats is willed to Constanza. The mother, who is pleased with the young man's personality and the wealth he professes to have, mourns with her daughter that so estimable and eligible a young man should die. He does not die, however, but gradually begins to recuperate in health until he is entirely well, when he marries the object of his affections without encountering any opposition. After his marriage, he confesses his deception, but so deep is his wife's love for him that she forgives him freely, rejoicing in the happiness they enjoy together. As the years progress, two sons are added to their felicity, and the family live in ideal peace and contentment.

Meanwhile, D. Jorge learning through various channels that he has never been suspected of the murder of his brother, returns to his native city. With his return, he renews his attentions to Constanza, whom he has never forgotten.

At this point begins the tale as Boccaccio relates it but with the added complication of Teodosia's renewed jealousy, which affects her so strongly that she falls dangerously ill. Constanza, realizing the cause, is anxious to have D. Jorge marry her sister, but his thoughts and desires centre on Constanza and with ever increasing fervor he pleads with her to regard him with favor. Then follow, as in the *Decameron*, the promise and the proposition of the garden. Instead of hiring a magician as did Ansaldo, the rejected suitor meets a stranger who divines his dilemma and suggests that as long as Constanza puts a price upon her love the case is not so hopeless as it seems. He reveals himself as the Devil—a noteworthy addition by our Spanish author—who in exchange for D. Jorge's soul promises to help him solve his problem. The contract is drawn up in writing and duly signed. There are interpolations by the author concerning the mortal sin involved in bartering to the Arch Enemy the precious soul which cost its Maker so dearly. Here we have the introduction of the religious element so conspicuously absent from the original story. During the night Constanza's garden is transformed into such a paradise as is described in the *Decameron*. Carlos, the husband, is the first to view the fairy spectacle. His exclamations of astonishment bring Constanza to the scene. The realization of its meaning overwhelms her with despair, and she

swoons. Upon her recovery, she confesses all to her husband, begging him to kill her, since, as a Christian, she cannot take her own life as she would wish to do, while he, as her husband, can act to save his honor. He chides her for having placed a price on what has no price, but does not denounce her, aware that she meant all for the best. Instead, he offers to kill himself to clear the situation, "forgetting that by so doing he would forfeit his soul." D. Jorge, who is present, having arrived at daybreak to view the garden, prevents him from committing so revolting a crime, explaining that he will be the only one to die, as he has already lost his soul—which had cost God his death on the cross—through a pact made with the Devil. The continual introduction of Catholic principles and religious fervor is characteristic of the work of this author.

At this juncture, the Devil appears, and, not to be surpassed in generosity, releases D. Jorge from his contract, returning to him the document, "so that the world may see with amazement that in the Devil there can be virtue." This accomplished, there is heard a loud crash, and, coincident with it, the Devil and garden disappear. D. Jorge sinks upon his knees in prayer, the rest of the company following his example and all giving thanks to God for their fortunate deliverance from evil. D. Jorge, deeply moved, begs forgiveness of Constanza for all the unhappiness he has caused her and agrees to marry Teodosia as she desires. Thus all is satisfactorily arranged and, in token of her forgiveness, Constanza throws her arms around D. Jorge's neck, welcoming him into her family as a brother. Gay festivities crown this happy ending. The two families live many years in harmony and peace, blest by beautiful children and prosperity. Until after D. Jorge's death, when Teodosia reveals the truth, nobody ever discovers that he was the murderer of his brother. Moreover, at the end of the story we are told that this tale of the *Magic Garden* was found after Teodosia's death written by her hand and designating a prize—the laurel of wisdom—for the one who shall decide which of the three was most virtuous, Carlos, D. Jorge or the Devil. After some discussion the assembled company of young men and young women agree that the Devil, without any doubt, was the one to whom most praise was due, because it is an unheard-of thing for him to do good.

This development of the outline given by Boccaccio, into something more elaborate, detailed and finished, is typical of all the adaptations by Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor. She knew how to expand her theme so as to include in an intelligent and consistent manner an interesting variety of incidents and romantic adventures—an element so dear to the heart of Spaniards.

The story as found in the *Filocolo* is very similar to that of the *Decameron*. It varies simply in a few details. Instead of hiring a magician, Tarolfo, the lover, searches through strange lands to find some way of accomplishing the apparently impossible feat, but nowhere does he discover a means of success. Almost in despair, he is ready to give up the quest when one morning in a lonely walk which brings him to the foot of a mountain, he meets with an elderly man, bearded, small of person and thin, with clothes that mark him as being rather poor. He is gathering herbs and digging roots. In the exchange of courtesies and inquiries, the hermit learns of Tarolfo's great desire. (The idea of the meeting of Tarolfo and the hermit in the woods is adopted in *El Jardín engañoso* by Doña María.) After a few moments of silence the hermit asks him what he would give to have his wish fulfilled. Tarolfo assures him that when the work is done he may have one half of his worldly goods. The stranger agrees to undertake the task, and gathering up his belongings accompanies Tarolfo. The garden is created. There is an interesting and beautiful account of the prayer made to the different elements of nature by the creator of the garden. His invocation is almost dithyrambic in its eloquence. It seems strange that if this version of the story was familiar to Doña María de Zayas, she did not include this particular idea in her narrative as enhancing its many poetical aspects.

Unlike the procedure of the tale in the *Decameron*, the lady, instead of appealing to her husband at once, promises to favor Tarolfo if he will wait until a more propitious occasion when her husband shall have gone hunting or have left the city. To this Tarolfo agrees, but so greatly is the lady disturbed in mind that her husband perceives her perturbation and persuades her to reveal the cause of it. The succeeding events are similar to those occurring in the story of the *Decameron*, the hermit refusing to accept the

reward promised him. In the final discussion as to who showed most magnanimity, the husband is conceded the honor.

Unlike his usual attitude, Boccaccio depicts his heroine with an inclination to be virtuous and to fulfil her agreement, but Doña María de Zayas, with her characteristic loyalty to the feminine sex, goes much farther, portraying her sympathetically as inherently good, loyal to her husband, a devout Catholic and ready to die for the sake of her honor and that of her family. She is given an exalted position, clothed in a garb of idealism and presented as devoid of unworthy impulses.

The diffusion of Boccaccio's tales was infectious. Many writers succumbed to a veritable epidemic of retelling them wholly or in fragments, adapting them to their own use as best pleased them. This was the case in Italy itself, as well as in foreign countries in which the editions from Italy penetrated. This particular tale, however, does not seem to have found its way into the Italian *novelle*, if the results may be trusted of an examination of the contents of those immediately following the works of Boccaccio and preceding the tales of Doña María de Zayas.<sup>15</sup> As A. C. Lee has correctly stated, there are several to be found which recount acts of unusual generosity of conduct, courtesy and liberality, but to the present writer it seems that none of these are similar enough to *El Jardín engañoso* to serve as a possible source for its plot.<sup>16</sup> Consequently it is probable that Doña María de Zayas was not influenced even indirectly by these authors, but rather drew directly from the original source, owing to the fact that Boccaccio enjoyed greater popularity than did any of the other writers and was more eagerly read.

As to the origin of the story, it must be remembered in the first place that during the Middle Ages many tales from antiquity, originating in many climes, lost their identity by free circulation and became common property. Little in the *Decameron* is new, as has

<sup>15</sup> "There does not seem to be any very direct imitation of this story in the Italian novellieri, although there are some similar ones of magnanimity." A. C. Lee, *The Decameron: its sources and analogues*. London 1909, p. 328.

<sup>16</sup> The stories by Gentile Sermini, Bandello and Illicini, as mentioned by A. C. Lee, are different in theme from *El Jardín engañoso*, agreeing only in the discussion at the end concerning the one showing the most magnanimity.

often been proved. There are those who are disposed to overlook all the significant value of Boccaccio's work, content to dismiss it lightly by branding it as a mass of plagiarism. These critics of narrow vision are unmindful of the monumental and incomparable work of the master mind who saved for posterity this wealth of lore and by his manner of narration inaugurated the modern novel.

Manni intimates soberly that the story is founded on fact, and that in the year 876 a Hebrew physician by enchantment created just such a garden as is described by Boccaccio.<sup>17</sup> However true this may be, it is difficult to prove. Mr. Manni has been accused of a mania for founding on fact all of Boccaccio's tales, and as this tendency is indeed noticeable in his work, perhaps it is well in the present case to leave the question open. It may be added that in another account the year 1395 is given as the date of the occurrence.<sup>17a</sup>

That the tale is of oriental origin has been demonstrated by A. C. Lee, who in his able work has gathered together a number of versions through which it can be traced back to the story of a young girl, daughter of a wealthy merchant, who while walking in her garden spies a rose that no one seems able to procure for her. The gardener performs the difficult task, asking as a reward that she meet him in the garden on the evening of her wedding day.

<sup>17</sup> "Della derivazione del presente racconto sia la fede presso di uno Scrittore anonimo sì, ma, che non è credibile, che abbia posto in campo una falsità allorquando diè a leggere in difesa di Giovanni Boccaccio (indirizzandola a persone di autorità) quella Scrittura, di cui ho io fatto parola di sopra nella Giornata III. Novella II. en stente nel Codice 861. in quarto della famosa Libreria Stroziana. Imperciocchè ivi si viene a dire: *che quell' altro facesse nel Friuoli un Giardino nel cuor del Verno per incanto; la qual Novella si legge antica altrove.* Questo è peravventura quell' istesso, che da persona letteratissima di fuori mi è stato per lettera scritto cioè, *che Giovanni Tritemio racconta, come nell' 876. un tal Sedecia Medico Ebreo fece comparire alla presenza di molti gran Signori nell' Inverno un orto amenissimo con alberi, e fiori ec. come fece a Messere Ansaldo il Negromante.* Sul fatto poi di sopra mentovato di Buonaccorso Pitti, che tentò per amore di far cosa difficile molto, si legge nell' Annotazioni alla Cronica di esso: *Così M. Dianora chiese a M. Ansaldo un giardino di Gennaio bello come di Maggio.*"—Istoria del Decamerone di Giovanni Boccaccio, scritta da Domenico Maria Manni. Firenze. M. DCC. XXXXII. [In line 1 of this note, *sia* should perhaps read *si a*; and in line 5, *en stente* should probably read *esistente*.]

<sup>17a</sup> A. C. Lee gives the reference as Muratori, 'Scriptores,' vol. xix, p. 398; Borromeo, 32; Gamba bibl. 30; but says the chronicler is anonymous.

With her bridegroom's consent she goes to fulfil her word, and on the way encounters in turn a wolf and a robber, both of whom, after being informed of her promise, allow her to proceed on her errand. The gardener, on learning of the thrice repeated magnanimity of bridegroom, wolf and robber, does not detain her, but permits her in peace to return to her husband. This version, according to Lee, is found in the preparations of the *Cukasaptati* and in the *Guti-nameh*, written by Nakhshabi about 1306. The subsequent versions found in other Oriental works,<sup>18</sup> and later with slight variations in French fables, are similar to this version. The story is usually told with the object of discovering, through the comments made upon the comparative sense of honor of the characters, who the thief is among a number of suspected persons.

Boccaccio took his material where he found it, arranged it to suit himself, and retold it with such originality that it read as freshly as if never related before. This is true of the story of Ansaldo and Dianora in the *Decameron* or that of Tarolfo in the *Filocolo*. In his version of the story we trace the skeleton of the original, which consisted in the accomplishment of a difficult feat together with an act of extraordinary magnanimity, and the attendant question as to which of the characters involved was the most generous. The rest he filled in himself, apparently being the first to employ the incident of the magic garden, which Doña María de Zayas borrowed *in toto*.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Baitál Pachisi*; *Kathá sarit Ságara*; *Bahar-Danush*; *Thousand and One Nights* etc., p. 322 et seq.

<sup>19</sup> Imitations of Boccaccio's story given by Miss Jones in her book, *Boccaccio and his Imitators*, are:

1387 Chaucer: Franklin's Tale.

1459 Johann Valentin: Andrae's Chymische Hochzeit "Christiani Rosencreutz."

1470 Bojardo: Orlando Innamorato. Canto XII. "Iroldo e Tisbina."

1536 Nicolas de Troyes, Parangon: "Le Jardin de Janvier."

1567 Painter, "Palace of Pleasure: Ansaldo and Dianora."

1608 Beaumont and Fletcher: Triumph of Honor.

1620 Two Merry Milkmaids.

1637 María de Zayas—"El Jardin Engañoso."



3.—*El Castigo de la miseria*

Avarice is a despicable trait and has always been a popular subject with writers of fiction, just as has been its counterpart, the trait of liberality, in all ages and in all countries. A miser is despised, and any trick or any deceit to defraud him of his money is accounted justifiable and laudable. A long list could be made of novels in which the trait of liberality has been the principal subject. Doña María de Zayas availed herself of this theme and produced what has been regarded as her best-constructed story. It is the third novel of Part One.

D. Marcos, from the kingdom of Navarre, is a man of good birth and lofty ideals, but with no money to support them. At the age of twelve and entirely without funds, he comes to Court to serve one of the nobles. At first he battles through many hardships, but manages to keep himself alive and by hoarding gradually accumulates a small sum of money, which increases with the years. Sometimes he almost starves, for his wages are small and he endeavors to save every cent that comes into his possession. This habit of thrift becomes a mania, and, although better paid when later on he assumes the office of page, yet he continues to live in as niggardly a manner as before. He begs water from the water-carriers or wine from the servants carrying it past the house; he uses the candle stubs that people throw away, or else undresses for bed in the dark. He eats from his companions' plates and this manner of providing for his meals becomes such a habit that when they see him coming they swallow all at one mouthful or cover the food in their plates with their hands. When traveling, the provender for his horse is often furnished by the straw in the mattress. The boy he has for a servant is treated hardly better than his horse. With all this scrimping and saving, D. Marcos manages to add to his pile, and in time gains the reputation at Court of being wealthy. At the age of thirty he has accumulated a small fortune of six thousand ducats, which he carries with him everywhere for fear of being robbed.

In spite of his besetting sin, D. Marcos has good habits and is considered a fine catch. But he turns down all the opportunities

offered him to marry, until urged by a professional matchmaker to consider a certain Doña Isidora, a widow professing to be worth thirteen or fourteen thousand ducats, but really an adventuress. D. Marcos is simple-minded and gullible, and the lady's fortune and the lavish comfort of her household make an impression on him. He is entertained so lavishly that when urged by the matchmaker to venture a proposal he is nothing loath. His suit is favored and he is duly accepted. The marriage takes place with much attendant pomp and splendor. The groom enthusiastically marvels how the Fates have been so kind; but once installed with Doña Isidora in her home, his dreams of peace, happiness and accumulated riches quickly pass. The awakening is rude. The very first night the gold chain he prizes so highly and the wedding finery for which he has so reluctantly and begrudgingly spent some of his savings, are stolen by one of the servants. In the early morning hours he awakes in response to the outcry made upon discovery of the outer door wide open, and is not so taken aback at all the excitement as he is to behold his wife minus the many accessories to her toilet with which she is wont to cover the ravages of time and of which poor D. Marcos had not the faintest suspicion. The next calamity comes in the form of a request that the silver plate be returned to its owner, from whom it has been borrowed. Protests on the part of D. Marcos avail little. He is beginning to realize that he has been duped, and that his wife is not all she seemed. He threatens divorce and other means of redress. His wife tries to quiet him by the assurance that to win such a husband a little deception is forgivable. But peace is short-lived, for the man from whom the furniture and draperies have been rented comes to collect payment on the same, and finally goes off with the articles. This is too much for D. Marcos; turning to his wife, he lays hands upon her that are none too gentle. The uproar brings down the owner of the house, who lives in an upper room. He announces that he is a lover of peace, and if they intend to continue their daily quarrels they will oblige him by moving elsewhere. Poor D. Marcos! He has been led to believe that the house belongs to his wife. It is not long before he knows how basely he has been deceived. He seeks new quarters for himself and wife. While absent from the house, Doña

Isidora and her paramour, whom she has introduced to D. Marcos as her nephew and who forms part of the family, pack all the household goods into carts and together with the servant start on their way to Barcelona. When D. Marcos discovers this perfidy and that his money also has been taken, he almost loses his mind. In desperation, wondering where he is to procure the means to pay the cost of the wedding, he turns in the direction of his patron's house. On the way there, he comes face to face with Marcela, the maid who had disappeared the night of the wedding with his gold chain and finery. Upon her as a last hope he pounces, demanding the return of the stolen articles. Marcela, in tears, protests that everything is in the possession of his wife, who planned the theft but let her servant shoulder the blame. D. Marcos, who is of a trusting disposition and without malice, believes the girl, and in turn confides to her the misfortune that has befallen him and his desire to learn the whereabouts of Doña Isidora and her nephew. Marcela, cunning in her knowledge of the poor man, offers to help him by introducing him to a magician who is endowed with marvellous occult powers. D. Marcos eagerly seizes the opportunity and a rendez-vous is arranged. The advance payment for the séance he is obliged to borrow, for he is well-nigh penniless. At the stipulated hour, D. Marcos presents himself. He is taken into a dimly lighted room, where as the impostor reads incantations from an old book (which is nothing less than the *Amadis de Gaula*), a cat, put in training for the purpose, is set on fire, and scared through a cat-hole into the room, and leaps scratching and squalling over D. Marcos' head through a window directly above him, burning his hair and whiskers in its mad flight. D. Marcos faints dead away, believing he sees not one demon but a whole flaming inferno of them. The commotion is so great that people rush in to see what the trouble is. The magician and Marcela, his accomplice, are arrested, and the deception practised on D. Marcos is disclosed. Upon his recovery D. Marcos makes his way to his master's home, where a note is awaiting him from Doña Isidora denouncing him roundly for his avarice and promising that she will return to him when he shall again have gathered together six thousand ducats. So great is his rage, and the blow to his pride occasioned by the public dis-

grace, that he contracts a fever and dies within a few days. Doña Isidora, however, receives her just deserts, for, soon afterwards, her so-called nephew and the maid take the six thousand ducats and all her possessions and embark for Naples in each other's company. Doña Isidora, putting aside her wig and her many embellishments, is forced to resort to begging. The tale is told as a warning to niggards.

Unlike *El Jardín engañoso*, no precursor of *El Castigo de la miseria* is found in the *Decameron*. An inspection of Boccaccio's work reveals only two novels that treat in any way of avarice. In novel seven of the first day, Bergamino by telling a clever story reproves the avarice which has lately appeared in the rich Messer Cane della Scala's manner of entertaining his guests. In novel eight of the first day, there is told the story of a certain M. Ermino de Grimaldi who, although extremely wealthy, is yet noted for his greediness and sordid avarice. By a witty retort, Gulielmo Borsieri puts him to shame and thus works a complete change in his disposition. Hardly can it be said that the short story by Doña María de Zayas bears any connection with these two tales.

An examination of the *Piacevoli Notte* by Straparola (first half of the sixteenth century), whose works were enjoyed and imitated in Spain, discloses nothing significant. Fable thirteen of night thirteen tells of a wealthy man noted for his prodigality who loses all his money and is promptly deserted by those to whom he has been most generous in his days of plenty. One day he finds in a ruined hut an earthen vessel filled with ducats. Instead of returning to his former mode of living, he becomes most niggardly and is loath to share his find with anyone. There seems little again in this tale to warrant comparison with *El castigo de la miseria*.

Nor is there apparently any source for the story in Bandello's *Novelle* nor in the tales by Cinthio, both of which writers were popular in Spain.

Let us turn next in our quest to the fiction in Spain preceding the writing of the novel in question. In the *Patrañuelo* (1576) of Juan de Timoneda, the first collection of stories in Spain to show the influence of the *Decameron*, there is related the tale of a blind man (*patraña* twelve) who has all the characteristics of a miser.

He deprives himself of necessities, saves religiously all the money he can lay his hands on, and spends his evenings counting and fondling the precious coin. A neighbor, taking in the situation through a peephole in the miser's shed, enters the hut and steals the money. Great is the lament of the blind man upon discovery of the theft. The next morning, on his way to report to the authorities, he meets another blind man, to whom he relates his misfortune. The newcomer in answer boasts that no one can steal his money, for he carries it safely in the lining of his cap. The robber, who from curiosity is lingering near, hears this, and snatching the bonnet from the old man's head runs away with it. Blind man number two, believing that blind man number one has taken the cap, begins to beat him. The other retaliates, while the robber makes good his escape.—The similarity is too slender for our purpose.

In the *Corrección de vicios* (1623), by Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, there is depicted a deplorable example of avarice, a miserly merchant the list of whose mean economies approaches the incredible; and yet, in this characterization there is something suggestive of D. Marcos. Doña María, however, has clothed her hero with more respectability and a touch of human sentiment, while the miser of Salas Barbadillo is a clod, who inspires us with loathing and disgust. To save bed-linen, he sleeps on a board and uses a stone for a pillow; he does all his own work, being devoid of the pride that impels D. Marcos to attach to himself a servant—no matter how humble nor how inefficient—to perform the menial tasks of the household. Like D. Marcos he undresses at night in the dark to save candle light and when in the house during the day wears his clothes very loosely or takes them off entirely in order to avoid wear and tear. Again like D. Marcos, he is pictured as depending for his food on crusts from his neighbors or the extraction of tid-bits from their plates; and yet there is the difference that D. Marcos never assumes a cringing or servile attitude, but follows his unfortunate bent with the abstracted air of a gentleman. Salas Barbadillo has so exaggerated the character of his miser that as a whole he lacks reality. Even in his last illness, with death staring him in the face, he eschews medicine, unwilling to spend the small sum that might have brought him relief. Upon his death,

his brother and brother's family, whom he has seen suffering before his eyes from poverty without ever proffering them aid, inherit the old man's savings of 20,000 ducats and enjoy the comfort the hoarder never knew.

It is very probable that Doña María was familiar with the above work and in its perusal assimilated some of the ideas therein contained in preparation for delineating the pet economies displayed by D. Marcos, but there is much more likelihood that she may have been influenced by *El casamiento engañoso* of Cervantes, which forms one of his *Novelas ejemplares*—published in 1613, but, according to Icaza, probably composed about 1605. *El casamiento engañoso* resembles the novela of Doña María de Zayas in that the *alférez* Campuzano is taken in by an adventuress whom he has met by chance and who presents a most attractive exterior, having an air of distinction and elegance that to the enamored gentleman is altogether captivating. In addition to her personal charms, she has the air and appearance of being in most comfortable circumstances, and it is not until after marriage that the *alférez* discovers that he has indeed been deceived and that the fine establishment he was led to believe to be hers really belongs to a friend who was absent on a visit and has only been availed of to accomplish the purpose of baiting a husband—that in fact his wife has nothing. Forced to move to other lodgings, he returns home one day to discover that his wife, in company with a man she has called her cousin, has deserted him, taking with her all her husband's belongings—including his massive jewelry—and has left him nothing but a travelling suit. Happily, the jewelry which appeared to be gold is only brass; for the husband, too, has been playing at the same game. Poetic justice accomplishes its ends in the outcome. In the development of the plot, there is the same atmosphere and portrayal of society and manners which is found to be later so characteristic of the tales of Doña María.

Francisco de Icaza in his critical study of this novel refers to an interesting and curious account of the Court of Spain in 1605 given by Dr. Thomé Pinheiro de Vega, a Portuguese who visited Spain in this period and whose description of the indiscriminate and unscrupulous conduct of the people of the Court stamps certain

events in *El casamiento engañoso* as true to life. Yet in this novel by Cervantes, although the *alférez* marries in order to come into possession of a comfortable living, the idea of avarice and sordid penury is not touched upon. Here there is no figure that stands out as does D. Marcos, around whose mania for economizing the plot develops. In short, there is no character development such as is found in *El castigo de la miseria*. If Doña María was inspired by Cervantes, it was only in connection with the marriage of the *alférez* to the adventuress with the resulting circumstances. She has so embellished this episode and added so much else of marked value that her debt to Cervantes indeed seems negligible.

Still another more primitive source suggested for *El casamiento engañoso* is the famous *Aulularia* of Plautus—utilized by Molière in his *l'Avare*. So far as we know, this play was not translated into Spanish until recently, when an excellent translation was made by Dr. A. Gonzalez Garbín.<sup>20</sup> According, however, to Cotarelo y Mori,<sup>21</sup> the subject of this Latin play was not unknown in Spain, and it is possible that Doña María was familiar with the story of the Athenian Euclio who all his life has been miserably wretched and poor, until he finds an earthen vessel filled with gold hidden under the hearth of his fire. Instead of being overjoyed at this find and putting it to good use, he carefully hides it, and from that moment becomes a most unhappy being, unable to sleep for fear of thieves and loath to leave his home by day. He continues in his poverty, zealously watching his treasure, guarding his secret and suspicious of everybody. When Megadorus, a wealthy neighbor, asks Euclio for his daughter in marriage, the miser is at once distrustful, and believes Megadorus would not consider a poor girl like Phaedra unless he suspected that Euclio has hidden wealth. He stoutly maintains he is so poor that he cannot give his daughter a dowry, and is puzzled and nonplussed to find that to Megadorus all this seems immaterial. Finally, under his own conditions, he consents to the marriage, which is to take place that very day. He is unaware that Phaedra already has a lover in the person of Lyconides, nephew to

<sup>20</sup> Teatro de Plauto. Traducción y comentario de las principales comedias. Por A. Gonzales Garbín. Granada, 1879.

<sup>21</sup> *Estudios de Historia Literaria de España*, etc.

Megadorus, and that she is bound to him through their secret intimacy.

As events progress the suspicions of Euclio, instead of diminishing, increase. The fear that perhaps those around him have discovered his secret and are covertly trying to defraud him of his gold preys so keenly upon his mind that he seizes his treasure and hastens to the temple of Fides, where he hides it. Feeling a presentiment of impending misfortune, he returns to the temple and removes the gold to a wood, where he conceals it. Strobilus, a servant of Lyconides, observing the strange conduct of Euclio, follows him, finds the treasure, and runs with it to his master. Lyconides who has heard of the contemplated marriage of his uncle to Phaedra, goes to Euclio to confess the wrong he has done to Phaedra and to beg her in marriage for himself. Upon his appearance Euclio, who has only just discovered the theft of the treasure, is beside himself with alarm, distractedly running here and there in terror and anguish, calling for his gold, and invoking the aid of all in recovering his loss. Lyconides, ignorant of the real cause, believes the outcry is due to the discovery that Phaedra has been betrayed. Without reflecting, he admits that he is culpable, and Euclio interprets this confession of guilt as referring to the gold. The complications that ensue are many, but finally all is explained, and the gold that Strobilus brings to Lyconides is restored to Euclio. That is as far as the play takes us, for the end is missing, but it is not difficult to construct the dénouement. Without doubt, Megadorus renounces his claims to Phaedra in favor of Lyconides, and Euclio, to whom the treasure has been returned, realizing that true happiness does not consist in great wealth, probably shares the treasure with his daughter and her husband.

Such similarity as there is between this Latin play and *El castigo de la miseria* is only discernible in the delineation of the characters of Euclio and D. Marcos. Otherwise the plays are far apart. The incidents are totally dissimilar, and the other characters have nothing in common. Even as to the portrayal of character the two misers are decidedly different. Plautus did not attempt to depict typical avarice. Rather did he try to show the torments of unhappiness and anxiety through which a man passes who has



been very poor and then suddenly is overwhelmed by great wealth. Avarice with Euclio was not a vice. It was a trait probably possessed in embryo and not developed until he found the treasure. He lived frugally because he had to do so. He was poor and had a daughter to support; it behooved him to be careful. The discovery of the gold came upon him suddenly; he had no time to reflect, and, unaccustomed to the idea of wealth, he lost his head and acted like a man demented. Previously, Euclio had been resigned to his poverty; he gave no indication of an insatiable desire to accumulate gain, to win for himself position in society. On the other hand, D. Marcos, also poor and needy from his youth, yet of good birth and always a gentleman, was anxious to advance in the world in which he moved. Then as now, money was the "open sesame," and, quick to appreciate this, he practised the small and rigid economies so common and yet so ridiculous in the eyes of the seventeenth century and so pathetic in the present age of gentle humanity. There was nothing dishonorable in his poverty nor in the accumulating of his small fortune. Indeed we are told that he was of excellent habits and held in good repute. By the sweat of his brow, and with personal discomfort, he slowly but steadily gathered together his six thousand ducats. What wonder they were dear to his heart! Necessity, the pinch of poverty, and the honor of the Spanish gentleman, had forced D. Marcos to become niggardly in his habits of living. It is not until he allows his covetousness to influence him in the choice of a wife that he can indeed be called avaricious and a miser in the veritable sense of those words. In the *novela* retribution accomplishes its ends much more effectively than in the drama, for the results are more disastrous.

It is not surprising that Doña María took the subject of avarice for her most interesting novel, nor that she developed it so ingeniously and so successfully, since a familiar figure of her period was the poor but proud *hidalgo* who presented a brave front to society, clinging pathetically to the vestiges of grandeur, yearning for the past splendors of the time when Spain led the world in the glory of her wealth and her achievements. It was a type characteristically Spanish and a natural development of the political, social and

economic status of the country. Because he was proud and because he longed to live as a gentleman D. Marcos was incited to economize in order that in time he might fill a position worthy of his ambitions; but as in the case of everything else that is carried to extremes, he succumbed to the pernicious habit, and later allowed it to dominate his life. Doña María may have been familiar with the *Aulularia*, but she did not have to depend upon any foreign source for her inspiration. There were living examples of niggardliness all around her, and in no other place was this more the case than in Madrid. She may have been influenced by Cervantes but she did not have to rely on his portrayal as a model to follow. Her own inventive genius was able to draw from the living examples around her. It was a subject often used by contemporary Spanish writers for the purpose of ridicule. Rather was it more natural for foreign writers seeking such material, to borrow inspiration from Spanish models. Doña María de Zayas has often been cited as influencing *l'Avare* of Molière.<sup>23</sup> An analysis of Molière's play, however, leaves no doubt as to the fact that the main ideas are taken—as intimated above—from the *Aulularia* of Plautus, but so well is the subject handled, and so original is the development of the characters and the plot, together with the addition of natural wit, that the debt of Molière to Plautus is swallowed up in the superiority of the French production over the Latin play. That Molière was able to read Spanish and was well acquainted with the drama of the peninsula is evident from the fact that in his library were many Spanish plays and that his work shows at times Spanish sources.<sup>24</sup> He was quite frank himself in confessing that he was not over-discriminating in the choice of subjects but made use of whatever he found that suited his purpose. Without doubt he knew the novels of Doña María de Zayas, which not only were popular among her own people, but soon found their way into France. However that may be, Molière has drawn a miser totally different from the hero of the Spanish tale, who has an air of reality about him in his exaggerated sense of economy. Harpagon belongs to a

<sup>23</sup> *Tesoro de Nov. Esp. Ant. y Mod.*: Eugenio de Ochoa. *Molière et le théâtre espagnol*: E. Martinenche. *Molière et l'Espagne*: Guillaume Huszár. Paris, 1907.

<sup>24</sup> *Molière et le théâtre espagnol*: E. Martinenche.

type in which avarice is made an essential characteristic of his nature. He makes a business of being miserly. He has been rich for a long time, has a fine establishment, rich furnishings, good horses for his pleasure and all the appurtenances pertaining to a man of his position, yet with it all he is very close. Poor D. Marcos, born in poverty, has saved for years, and in his saving has been hard on nobody but himself. Harpagon makes his children unhappy because he refuses to provide for them as a man with his means should. He is miserly with his money, not because he wishes to hoard it, rather because he is anxious to increase it through business. He is simply and purely selfish, and his mania makes him appear repellent to us. D. Marcos, with all his faults, is pathetically human. He lacks the sharp astuteness of Harpagon who lends money at exorbitant rates of interest, and seeks to enrich himself at the sacrifice of others. There is no malice in his make-up. He has a child-like trust and confidence in human nature. What he has saved has not been acquired through fraud or misrepresentation. He is essentially honest and not underhanded in any way. Even before marrying Doña Isidora he is quite frank with her concerning his economical proclivities and proposes a plan whereby they may live with little expenditure, saving so that the children they may have may be handsomely provided for. He guards his money carefully, but not frantically as does Harpagon, nor is he secretive about the fact that he has means. Harpagon is afraid he will be thought wealthy and then robbed. D. Marcos by nature is not suspicious.

An interesting character found in both the Spanish and French play is the professional matchmaker, a typical figure of the century, who arranges the match between Harpagon and Mariane as well as that between D. Marcos and Doña Isidora.

The idea of the enumeration of petty savings practised by the miser is found in both the Latin and French plays and in the Spanish tale, although all three are quite different in substance.

In *El castigo de la miseria* we have the intervention of magic, which is not an unnatural proceeding in the fiction and drama of the period.<sup>25</sup> Hardly could Molière have introduced this element

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Coloquio de los perros*, by Cervantes.

into his play, for Harpagon was of too keen and sly a nature to have allowed himself to be so imposed upon. This is an essential difference in the character of the two misers, and for this reason D. Marcos presents an appealing and pitiful figure that produces an effect more tragical than ridiculous.

Emilia Pardo Bazán speaks highly of this novel by Doña María and takes umbrage at the statement made by Navarrete in contradiction of the opinion submitted by Llorente that Doña María de Zayas might well have written the *Gil Blas* and the *Bachiller de Salamanca*.<sup>26</sup> Navarrete does not consider her capable of producing anything as good of its kind. He says that she lacks the necessary observation and intimate knowledge of life which only a man can acquire. Emilia Pardo Bazán feels sure that for the author of *El castigo de la miseria* to compose the *Bachiller de Salamanca* would not have been too arduous a task. She even goes farther and gives her opinion that some of the *Novelas amorosas* will bear favorable comparison with the short stories of Cervantes.<sup>27</sup>

In spite of his adverse criticism concerning her genius, Navarrete, as well as Ochoa, consider this her best production.<sup>28</sup> Perhaps for the reason that it was so good, and original in its ideas, Juan de la Hoz Mota,<sup>29</sup> recognizing its merit, appropriated the plot, dramatized it, and evolved a play<sup>30</sup> which ranks as one of

<sup>26</sup> *Observaciones críticas sobre el Romance de Gil Blas de Santillane*, por Juan Antonio Llorente. Madrid, 1822. Gives a list of thirty-seven who may have been the creators of the original of *Gil Blas* from which the story was taken. Doña María stands fourteenth on the list. "Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor, natural de Madrid, escribió en 1647 dos tomos de novelas, que suponen en su autora capacidad de componer el *Bachiller* y el *Gil Blas*, si se hubiese dedicado a historias fabulosas mas largas y mas encadenadas que una novela."

<sup>27</sup> "... y es de advertir que algunas de las novelas cortas de doña María de Zayas pueden sostener sin desdoro la comparación con otras del manco insigne. Esto no significa que doña María de Zayas fuese capaz de concebir el *Quijote*. *Quijote* hay uno, uno nada más. Para la autora de *El Castigo de la miseria*, no sería impresa tan ardua escribir el *Bachiller de Salamanca* ó *La pícara Justina*." Introduction to *Las Novelas de Doña María de Zayas*: Bibl. de la Mujer; dirigida por Emilia Pardo Bazán.

<sup>28</sup> *Tesoro de Nov. Esp. Ant. y Mod.; Nov. post. á Cervantes*: Navarrete. Bibl. de Aut. Esp.

<sup>29</sup> Born 1620, Madrid.

<sup>30</sup> *El Castigo de la Miseria*.

the best plays of "el teatro antiguo," and whatever fame has survived him is due to this play.<sup>31</sup> He wrote several others but they have been eclipsed by this one, and have fallen into oblivion.<sup>32</sup> It seems at times to have been a question as to whether Juan de la Hoz drew from María de Zayas or vice versa.<sup>33</sup> There can be no doubt as to this if due account is taken of the dates of publication of both works and the date of birth of the two authors. There has even been doubt expressed as to whether the *novela* was the only source for the play. A careful examination of both short story and play will resolve all uncertainties, and establish the fact that Juan de la Hoz could hardly have followed any other model. The general outline is the same, as well as the succession of events and the principal characters. Its merit surely does not rest on its originality, but rather on the happy treatment the author has given the subject in his dramatization. It belongs to the class called *comedias de figurón*, featuring some ridiculous character—a caricature, as it were. Ticknor says it is "one of the best specimens of character drawing on the Spanish stage, and may, in many respects, bear a comparison with the *Aulularia* of Plautus and the *Avare* of Molière."

La Hoz has kept the same names for his principal characters—D. Marcos, Doña Isidora and D. Agustín, but he has added more comedy in the figure of Chinchilla, servant to Agustín and to Doña Isidora, who takes the part of the "gracioso" of the Spanish comedy, and is not found in the story. Another character whose rôle is made more important is D. Marcos' personal servant, a Galician, who furnishes much humor in his peculiarities of speech and the account of his master's mode of living. In the play, it is made very clear that Doña Isidora originates the scheme for deception, and with the consent of Agustín, a student of Salamanca

<sup>31</sup> Sismonde de' Sismondi, vol. ii, p. 346; *Nov. post. a Cervantes; Manuel de Literatura*: por Antonio Gil de Zárate. Paris, 1865.

<sup>32</sup> *Principios Generales de Lit. é Hist. de la Lit. española*: por Manuel de la Revilla y Pedro Alcántara García. Madrid 1884. *Manuel de literatura*: por Antonio Gil de Zárate. Paris 1865.

<sup>33</sup> *Colección del Teatro Español*: por García de la Huerta.

<sup>34</sup> Huerta supposes that it was taken from the novel by Cervantes entitled *El casamiento engañoso*.

with whom she has been intimate, prepares to find a husband for herself. They go to Madrid, hire a house, furnish it richly, and give every appearance of wealth. D. Agustín poses as a nephew of Doña Isidora, who passes as a widow. Once the scheme is formulated, Agustín takes entire charge and Doña Isidora drops into the background. Nothing is told us of the personal appearance of the lady, although in the story this forms a special point of interest. The scene once set, Doña Isidora begins to receive visitors, among them the owner of the house, a certain D. Alonso, who is at once interested in his charming tenant. While paying his call, a noise is heard outside as of someone being persecuted. A servant reports that a horrible spectre of a man is chasing an unfortunate "gallego." At that moment he enters, to escape from his pursuer and in answer to questions describes his master as D. Marcos. Thereupon D. Alonso explains to the company just the kind of man D. Marcos is, qualifying him as the stingiest person in Madrid, "the first to weaken water" (*Él inventó aguar el agua*), yet one who through his niggardliness has accumulated a fairly large sum of money. The description of D. Marcos given in the play is almost identical with that in the story. Shortly afterwards, Agustín, who thinks D. Marcos just the person to fit into his plans, manages with the aid of the professional matchmaker to interest D. Marcos in the widow who is reputed wealthy. In the *novela*, he is not portrayed in such mercenary guise, for, although interested principally in the wealth he may acquire, yet in his simplicity he is also attracted by the lady.

"Admiróle sobre todo el agrado y discreción de doña Isidora, que parecía la misma gracia, tanto en donaire como en amores, y fueron tantas y tan bien dichas las razones que dijo á don Marcos, que no solo le agradó, mas le enamoró, mostrando en sus agradecimientos el alma que la tenía el buen señor bien sencilla y sin doblez."

This cannot be said of the D. Marcos of the play, whose one thought was of the fortune his wife would bring him, with never a tender sentiment in respect to the lady. On the other hand, Doña María represents Doña Isidora as far more heartless than the same figure in the *comedia*; she is devoid of all kindness, is

hard to the last extremity, and finally does she not make off with all her husband's property, in company with Agustín? Could there be a greater adventuress? But, in the play, when D. Marcos discovers the trick played upon him and asks

"¿ Y me he de quedar casado? "

does not Doña Isidora answer,

" Eso hasta que yo muera,  
Pues mi amor urdió este engaño,  
Para haceros mi marido."

As in the story, D. Marcos is entertained before his marriage at the home of Doña Isidora in a most elegant manner, and he fully enjoys the delicate food, the gay company, the songs and dances. After his marriage comes the sad awakening, as we already know it. Agustín, who has renewed a love affair with a former sweetheart is anxious to elope, and in order to facilitate his plan persuades Chinchilla to steal the gold which is kept in a chest and which D. Marcos with much care has moved to his bride's home. It consists of six thousand ducats—the same amount as is given in the story. It is interesting to note that Agustín intends to pay back the money as soon as his bride shall receive her dowry. This makes him out a far more respectable figure than in the story. He also has every intention of marrying his sweetheart. In the story, there is no mention of marriage. In fact, after reaching Italy, Inés plies the trade of courtesan to support herself and Agustín.

With the loss of the gold there follows the scene at the magician's with all the attendant circumstances.<sup>84</sup> When D. Marcos cries out in fright, people rush in, among them the personages involved in the plot. There follow explanations and recriminations but finally all are satisfied with the outcome except D. Marcos who has to make the best of a bad bargain. Unlike the story, his money is returned to him intact, and in this ending it seems that poetic justice fails and that the moral is weak for the perpetrators of the fraud are successful in their machinations and are in no way

<sup>84</sup> Ticknor was mistaken in part when he made the following statement: "The first of these scenes is taken in a good degree, from the *Novelas*, ed. 1637, p. 86; but the scene with the astrologer is wholly the poet's own, and parts of it are worthy of Ben Jonson."

punished for their misdeeds. The question might almost arise as to which are the wrongdoers. As Ticknor says it is "a strange perversion of the original story, for which it is not easy to give a good reason."

The criticism has been made that the last or third act is superfluous as the action according to dramatic rules ends with the second act, but the third act is full of humor and life and does not detract from the interest; rather, does it add to it.<sup>85</sup> La Hoz did the work well, and added a noteworthy contribution to the drama of his country by presenting one of the few plays of this period in which character-drawing was the important feature. At this time little attention was given to development of this sort; instead, the interest concentrated in the events, rapid movement of the action and the unraveling of the plot. There was little reasoning; passion ruled all, and intrigue within intrigue held one in suspense.

The influence of this drama spread into France where an interest in things Spanish held sway at this time. Philarète Chasles writes most emphatically of this period when France surrendered to an interest that included even the Spanish dictionary.<sup>86</sup> Spanish words as well as customs and literature penetrated into France.

"Il n'y avait plus de France française; l'Espagne débordait. On se mit à prendre du chocolat à l'espagnole, à jouer au hoc comme les Espagnols; on donna des *fiestas* sur l'eau, à leur exemple. Mille expressions castillanes nous sont restées. . . . Les femmes prennent la mantille; Amadis fait fureur; le gout des aventures romanesques charme le peuple le plus raisonnable de la terre." and again farther on, in speaking of the literary influence,

"L'Espagne s'admire, et ses voisins la copient; les œuvres créées par elle servent d'enseignement à tous. En France, ces germes sont féconds; Scarron leur emprunte les grossières trames d'une intrigue embrouillée et facétie populaire des *Picaros*; d'Urfé amuse les femmes en imitant les fantaisies bergeresque, etc."

So it was not strange that popular novels and plays from Spain should find their way into France, and that new and unusual themes should be seized upon by French authors, seeking variety, and transmitted to the public. Scarron was one of these to avail himself of

<sup>85</sup> Ticknor; Zárate.

<sup>86</sup> *Études sur l'Espagne, et sur les influences de la littérature espagnole en France et en Italie.*



some of the most piquantes Spanish compositions. He did not improve upon them, nor did he add anything original. He simply translated them into his own tongue, but he made the grave mistake of not making this clear to the public, publishing them without the slightest mention of their respective authors. The translations appeared apparently as his own original work. Unfortunately for him, D'Ouville who had spent seven years in Spain in the service of the Count of Dognon and had the chance to become familiar with the Spanish productions, shortly after the translations by Scarron appeared, published a collection of Spanish tales (1656), admittedly translations, and in his preface twitted Scarron with the intent to deceive. Thereupon resulted a bitter quarrel which was continued even after D'Ouville's death between Scarron and D'Ouville's brother, Boisrobert, who carried on his work. In the *Nouvelles-tragi-comiques* of Scarron are several novels by Doña María de Zayas, but of particular interest at this point is the one entitled *Châtiment de l'Avarice* which is a fairly good translation of the novela *El castigo de la miseria*. In this he probably saw in its realism and caricature the germs of burlesque—that type of humor later developed by him, and was tempted to include it in his work. When pressed by his enemies, he admitted the truth about the translations but claimed that he had improved upon them and that the originals were written in extremely poor Spanish! Paul Morillot in his book *Scarron, Étude Biographique et Littéraire*, (Paris, 1888), can see no reason why Scarron should be blamed in any way nor that he suffered from the exposure. He adds that his work was far superior to either D'Ouville's or Maria de Zayas' and that he added so much from his own inventive genius that he saved the work of Doña María de Zayas from oblivion!<sup>37</sup> "N'est-ce pas le cas de dire que la façon a peut-être mieux valu que l'étoffe?" A comparison of the two works fails to reveal any basis for such reasoning. All credit is due to Doña María for a piece of work remarkable for its originality, freshness of interest and elegance of expression. It cannot be reasonably maintained that Scarron or anyone else has either improved upon it, or has added to its intrinsic merits.

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<sup>37</sup> I have been unable to consult the translation by D'Ouville.

## THE MISSING LINES OF *LA ESTRELLA DE SEVILLA*

IN his very careful commentary upon the newly found text of *La Estrella de Sevilla*,<sup>1</sup> M. R. Foulché-Delbosc attempts, under the heading *Vers perdus*, to estimate the number of lines missing from the text. His results are based, first, on the pages missing from one printed version, and with that side of his argument I am not concerned. Second, he employs the method of noting incomplete strophes. There is only one such in the entire play, a *quintilla* beginning with line 1402. The rime scheme of the strophe shows that line 1404 is missing.

M. Foulché-Delbosc then goes on to examine the passages of *romance* meter for possible gaps. He makes the following statement (p. 515): "Quant aux vers de romance, ils sont assujettis, comme ils le sont généralement dans les comedias, à une sorte de balancement rythmique dont l'amplitude normale est de quatre vers octosyllabiques. La phrase se termine avec le dernier vers de chaque quatrain, ou bien elle a, à cet endroit, une pause plus ou moins importante, rendue visible par un signe de ponctuation. Parfois aussi (rarement, semble-t-il, chez les poètes qui manient le vers avec aisance) il y a enjambement, la phrase commencée dans un quatrain continuant, sans la plus légère pause, dans le quatrain suivant; mais, en ce cas, il y a un très prochain retour à la pause fondamentale de quatre en quatre vers. . . . L'examen des vers de romance n'a ici d'autre but que de rechercher si notre texte a des lacunes, *étant décelées par la présence d'un quatrain incomplet*. . . . La détermination des quatrains se fait sans difficulté quand les enjambements sont rares. Quand ils sont fréquents, il est indispensable d'avoir recours à la contre-épreuve: elle consiste naturellement à essayer une détermination différente en prenant pour point de départ le vers qui, dans le premier essai, était le troisième vers d'un quatrain. Celle de ces deux divisions qui présentera le moins d'enjambements doit être considérée comme la bonne." (The italics are mine.)

<sup>1</sup> *La Estrella de Sevilla*, in *Revue hispanique*, vol. 48, 1920, pp. 497-678.

Following out this line of reasoning, M. Foulché-Delbosc reaches the conclusion that 18 lines are missing from the *romance* passages (p. 518).

The division of the *romance* meter into quatrains was treated by me at some length on a former occasion.<sup>3</sup> Those who were courageous enough to read the article may recall my conclusion, generally accepted by reviewers: that the *romances viejos* were never composed in quatrains; and that strict quatrain structure as a normal feature of the *romance* did not appear till about 1589.

With regard to the *romance* passages in the drama of the *siglo de oro*, I said, as long ago as 1911,<sup>4</sup> "This usage [the division of *romances* into quatrains] became the rule with the later artistic poets, except in the drama." Later investigations<sup>5</sup> confirmed this statement. M. Foulché-Delbosc, however, bases textual criticism upon a contrary opinion, and altho he adduces no proof in support of his contention, it appears worth while to enter more fully into the matter, if only to prevent perhaps further editing of texts upon this basis. Such a system, carried out logically, would lead to some strange propositions, as I shall show.

One should lay down at the outset this basic rule: only autograph manuscripts are thoroly safe material for metrical studies. This is far more true, to be sure, where the studies deal with the internal structure of the line than where they concern strophes.<sup>6</sup> But in so delicate a matter as the determination of quatrains in a *romance* passage, the omission of a line or two here and there is enough to throw one's conclusions quite out of focus, and every one knows that the omission of a line or two occurs with great frequency in some of the *comedias* printed in the seventeenth century.

In order to command ample autograph material, one would need to be in Madrid. Failing that, one must work from the few autograph plays which have been reprinted in critical editions.

<sup>3</sup> *Are the Spanish romances written in quatrains? and other questions*, in *ROMANIC REVIEW*, VII, 1916, pp. 42-82.

<sup>4</sup> *Spanish Ballads*, New York, 1911, p. xxxvii.

<sup>5</sup> *ROMANIC REVIEW*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 66-68.

<sup>6</sup> The investigations which I have from time to time conducted upon the proportion of verse-forms in the *comedias* are not subject to much error by reason of imperfect texts. The quantity of data is so great that only a very badly mutilated text could vitiate the results.

These are the following: Lope de Vega, *La Dama boba* (ed. Schevill, Berkeley, 1918); *Sin Secreto no hay amor* (ed. Rennert, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass. of Am.*, vol. IX, 1894, pp. 182-311); Vélez de Guevara, *El Rey en su imaginación* (ed. J. Gómez Ocerin, Madrid, 1920); *La Serrana de la Vera* (ed. R. Menéndez Pidal and M. Goyri de Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1916); Calderón, *El Mágico prodigioso* (ed. Morel-Fatio, Heilbronn, 1877); *La Selva confusa* (ed. G. T. Northup, *Revue hispanique*, vol. 21, 1909, pp. 168-338); and the last two acts of *Troya abrasada* (ed. G. T. Northup, *Revue hispanique*, vol. 29, 1913, pp. 195-346). If there are others, I do not recall them. But I am satisfied that no amount of additional material would alter at any essential point the conclusions to be arrived at from a study of these seven plays.

One may assume, I think, that dramatists of the skill and repute of Lope de Vega, Vélez de Guevara and Calderón rarely set down on paper a faulty strophe. Faulty lines do occur not infrequently in their rough drafts, to be corrected later. Omission of an entire line would be much more rare, and, in fact, there are in the seven plays I have named but two defective strophes,<sup>6</sup> notwithstanding that several of the manuscripts are *borradores* of the roughest type. There are, I say, but two defective strophes in meters other than *romance*. No one can suppose that precisely the *romance* verse, and none other, was written with egregious carelessness. Let us see, then, in what way Lope and Vélez and Calderón actually wrote *romance*.

It is evident, I suppose, that a *romance* passage, the number of whose lines is not divisible by four, cannot be composed in strict quatrains, unless there is an *estribillo* to throw the count off.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, of course, the mere fact that the number of verses is divisible by four by no means proves that the passage in question

<sup>6</sup> Lope, *Sin Secreto no hay amor*: one line of a *décima*, v. 2599, is lacking in the autograph. Calderón, *La Selva confusa*: one line is lacking from the *quintilla* which begins in v. 1068, if the copy is accurate.

<sup>7</sup> M. G. Cirot, in his suggestive article *Le mouvement quaternaire dans les romances* (*Bull. hispanique*, vol. XXI, 1919, pp. 103-142), made the point (p. 121) that many *romances*, non-multiples of four, "ont bien le mouvement que j'appellerais quaternaire, au moins dans leur plus grande partie." That is perfectly true; but "in their major part" is not the same as "in their entirety," and M. Cirot would, I feel sure, be the first to deny the possibility of detecting missing lines by the rigid application of the quatrain yardstick to such passages.

is written in quatrains. Where there is no quatrain structure, divisibility by four is a matter of pure chance, and one may expect to find about as many multiples of four as non-multiples. That is what actually occurs in the seven autograph plays I have examined.

In *La Dama boba* we find, as multiples of four, passages of 80, 172, 208, and 60 lines; non-multiples: 174, 134 and 158.

In *Sin Secreto no hay amor*, multiples of four: 264, 140, 192, 76, 80, 8, 112; non-multiples: 66, 82, 98.

In *El Rey en su imaginación*, multiples of four: 40, 340, 96, 172; non-multiples: 334, 150, 106, 314.

In *La Serrana de la Vera*, multiples of four: 100, 272; non-multiples: 102,<sup>8</sup> 406, 126.

In *El Mágico prodigioso*, multiples of four: 632, 216, 156, 296, 140, 328, 340; non-multiples: 202.<sup>9</sup>

In *La Selva confusa*, multiples of four: 92, 108, 132; non-multiples: 286, 327,<sup>10</sup> 62.

In *Troya abrasada*, last two acts, multiples of four: 192, 44, 420, 192; non-multiples: 94, 174, 302, 230.

Examination of these passages in detail confirms the conclusions which I arrived at in 1916 (*loc. cit.*, p. 67). "When the *romance* meter is used for dialog, it does not keep to quatrains." (That is the case in the great majority of the cited passages.) "But when the *romance* fulfils its first function of a long narrative monolog, it may or may not be written in quatrains." (In quatrains: *La Dama boba*, 413-492; *El Rey en su imaginación*, 1097-1136; *La Serrana de la Vera*, 1633-1776. Not in quatrains: *Sin Secreto no hay amor*, 617-846; *El Mágico prodigioso*, 3417-3532.) "If the lyrical or rhetorical element comes in, quatrains are much more likely to be found, and to be preserved strictly." (*El Rey en su imaginación*, 1995-2090.)

<sup>8</sup> Vv. 2050-2157; 108 lines in all, but six are made up of the triple repetition of an *estribillo* of 7 + 11.

<sup>9</sup> I follow, naturally, the MS version of this play, and not the printed version, which is also given by the editor.

<sup>10</sup> The texts of *La Selva confusa* and *Troya abrasada* are rough drafts, full of erasures and corrections. I use only the lines numbered by the editor with Arabic numerals, that is, the author's final version. The odd number, 327, is caused by Calderón's inadvertence in not making due allowance for a line he had crossed out.

The reader will not fail to observe that, according to M. Foulché-Delbosc's method of computing missing lines, each non-multiple of four noted above denotes a gap of at least two lines in the author's manuscript. The mere statement of this consequence is, I believe, a sufficient demonstration of the error of his method.

It is, to be sure, natural that a verse having assonance in every other line should fall into groups which end with the assonating words; that is, in couplets or their multiple, and the nearest, easiest multiple is the quatrain. M. Foulché-Delbosc is wholly right in affirming that there is a natural rhythm interrupted now and then by *enjambement*, but soon recovered. Only, the real unit is the couplet, not the quatrain.

There are long passages which appear to be in quatrains, and then are interrupted by a couplet. Let us take a concrete example. In Calderón's *La Selva confusa*, if one begins with verse 2181, he will find that the ensuing passage of *romance* is cast in almost perfect quatrains as far as verse 2224. Then there is a couplet (verses 2225-2226). From there to the end of the passage, in verse 2288, the quatrains continue. M. Foulché-Delbosc's theory would compel him to conjecture a gap of two lines before or after the couplet mentioned. Yet such a conjecture would be quite unwarranted. This kind of phenomenon appears over and over again, and indicates nothing else than the involuntary and unconscious grouping of lines according to the assonance. For a time the quatrains flow smoothly. With entire naturalness they are broken. There may be pages where hardly a perfect one can be found. Then a lyrical or sententious touch brings them back.<sup>11</sup>

It is really a long step from this naturally rhythmic *romance*, as it is found in the *comedias* and in the poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, before 1589, to the genuine quaternary *romance* (if that term is permissible). To appreciate the gulf which separates the two, one should study the poetry of the *Romancero general*

<sup>11</sup> There are frequent, but not extensive, passages in which it is difficult to discover any possible division into regular units, even of two lines. Thus, *La Dama boba*, 2879-2892; *El Mágico prodigioso*, 2907-2927. I formerly ventured the opinion (*loc. cit.*, pp. 67-68) that such passages are rarer in the generation of Lope de Vega than in that of Calderón, but I am not at all sure now that I was right.

of 1600-1604.<sup>12</sup> Here one finds sporadic examples of the non-multiple of four,<sup>13</sup> but the vast majority obey the following laws: there is a period or semi-colon at the end of each quatrain; there is very rarely a period within a quatrain; and there is *never* (if one may risk so strong a word without having examined every poem) *enjambement* from one quatrain to another. *Enjambement* was also practically unknown in the *romances viejos*. Its extensive use appears to be characteristic of the drama, and it converts the *romance*, as I have said elsewhere, into a sort of short-line blank verse.

In fact, M. Foulché-Delbosc's reasoning is essentially at fault. He undertakes to determine quatrains in spite of *enjambement*, just as one can do when he is dealing with a strophe whose length is fixed by the nature of the rime. A *quintilla* must have five lines, and a *redondilla* four, regardless of where a period or pause occurs. The *romance* meter is by no means in the same case, and the analogy cannot govern it. The only essential and necessary unit, determined by the assonance, consists of two octosyllabic lines. *There is no means of determining larger units except by regularly recurring pauses*; and where these fail—the larger units simply do not exist. *Romance* lacks the criterion provided by the rime-scheme in the consonating strophes.

When the eminent French scholar says "Celle de ces deux divisions qui présentera le moins d'enjambements doit être considérée comme la bonne," he really destroys his own case. If the regularity of end-line pauses is so slight that one must resort to a majority count in order to determine where the strophes end, then there is no strophe structure. For, in the *romance* meter, strophe structure is shown only by regularity of pauses.

If one examines now, in the light of these facts and considerations, the *romance* passages in *La Estrella de Sevilla*, in the text presented by M. Foulché-Delbosc, one finds:

(1) That the only passages intended to be written in quatrains are vv. 1326-1389 (narrative monolog); 2062-2117 (lyrical

<sup>12</sup> In Durán's *Romancero general*, almost any poem in the sections of *Jocosos, satíricos y burlescos*, and of *Eróticos o amorios* will serve as material.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. my remarks, *loc. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

monolog); 2264-2275 (lyrical monolog); 2314-2337 (lyrical monolog); and probably 2340-2361 (rhetorical dialog).<sup>14</sup>

(2) That the only lacuna indicated by both sense and meter is one of two lines before verse 2360. The sense, not the meter, points to the omission of two more before verse 2926.

(3) That the other gaps which M. Foulché-Delbosc supposes to exist in the extant *romance* passages are illusory. It will be necessary, accordingly, to modify the statement made on page 519: "Ce qui est démontré, c'est que notre texte est incomplet, au moins, de vingt-six vers (et aussi du vers 1404). Cela porterait à 3055 le nombre total des vers."

It was, on the face of it, unlikely that the *romance* passages should have suffered so much, whilst there is only one line missing from all the rest of the play; that 37% of the *comedia* should have dropped eighteen lines, and 63% but one. There is nothing in the facts to explain nor to support such an extraordinary discrepancy.

I feel quite certain that the distinguished editor, who once analyzed so brilliantly the *arte mayor* line, will, when his attention is focussed upon these matters, agree with me.

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<sup>14</sup> The fact that these passages and none others capitalize every quatrain, or almost every one, might have enlightened the editor as to the distinction which must be made between strophic and non-strophic *romance*.

The passage (1881-1986) which contains the *estribillo* of 7 + 11 is in every way analogous to that in *La Serrana de la Vera*, 2050-2157. The autograph of Vélez demonstrates that the presence of such an *estribillo* does not prove that the passage is in quatrains—unless Vélez wrote faulty verse.

The editor of *La Estrella de Sevilla*, in his counting, failed to observe that vv. 2224-27 form a *redondilla*. If he had, he would have been forced to conjecture an omission of two lines before v. 2224. The presence of this *redondilla* is, however, correctly noted in the table of meters on page 656. I am unable to locate the half *redondilla* mentioned in the same item.



## PROVENCIAL NOTES

I N §39 of his *Outline of the Phonology and Morphology of Old Provençal*, Grandgent tells us that *anta*, with *a* for *au*, is unexplained. It may be considered a normal development. After *auscultare* changed to *ascultare*, Romanic *au* was nearly always followed by a single consonant. The word-form *\*aunta* had few or no parallels in early Provençal. This foreign form was normalized by dropping the *u*. The same change is seen in modern *clastro* < *claustra*, and in ancient *espantar* for *\*espauntar* = *espaventar*. If ancient *claustra* is not a bookish form, its *au* may have been preserved by the influence of *claus*. Or perhaps the *u* of *\*aunta* and *\*espauntar* was lost more easily because of nasality, which obscured the oral quality of the vowel. A contraction of nasalized *au* to a simple vowel could be normal, beside unchanged oral *au*. Meyer-Lübke ignores Provençal *espantar* and modern *espantar* in his Romanic dictionary, but gives Italian *spantare* and the Hispanic equivalents. He assumes that *espaventare* became *\*expaventare* by dissimilation. This theory is hardly justifiable; *p* and *v* are too widely different to affect each other. The development of *\*espauntar* seems to be indicated by the noun *espauntier*, given as a variant of *espaventier* in Levy's *Petit dictionnaire provençal-français*. *\*Aunta* is represented in *enauntir*, a variant of *enantir*.

Early Provençal has *maiti(n)* as a variant of *mati(n)*. In his Romanic dictionary Meyer-Lübke mentions *maiti*, and parallels found in Italy (probably borrowed, like Spanish *maitines*), without explaining the added *i*. The association of *\*mattino* with *\*nocte* produced the variant *\*maxtino*, which became *maitin* corresponding to *noit* or *nuoit*.

In the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, vol. 41, p. 93, E. Richter sees that *melhurar*, and other words with rime *u* as a variant of rime *o*, *hatten und haben sicher* the velar vowel [u], not the palatal vowel [y], which is rime *u* in modern Provençal as in French; and that the rime of *melhura* with *-ura* < *-ūra* indicates a retention of the Latin sound of *u* in early Provençal. I do not

hav at hand Mistral's *Tresor*; but the *Pichot tresor* ov Xavier de Fourvières givs *meiur* az an ecwivalent ov *meiourié* 'amendement.' Evidently *meiur*, corresponding to the stem ov ancient *melhurar*, upsets the *sicher*-statement. If *melhura* rimed with such a word az *dura*, that proves that *melhurar* contained the sound commonly derived from Latin clôs *u*; but it tells us nothing at all about the retencion or loss ov the velar sound [u]. Latin *curare* ment 'care for' and 'cure': *morbum curare* waz asociated with *meliorare*, and produced *melhurar* az a variant ov *melhorar*.

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## REVIEWS

*Ronsard et L'Humanisme* by Pierre de Nolhac, Paris, Champion, 1921.

*Studies in the French Renaissance* by Arthur Tilley, Cambridge University Press, 1922.

Two books published within a year's interval have lately shed new light upon the literature of XVI Century France, so gradually emerging for scholars into the full light of familiar day.

One of these, Arthur Tilley's *Studies in the French Renaissance*, brings into brilliant relief various aspects of that period, lighting up matters so various as: The University of Caen and the Renaissance, The Prose Romances of Chivalry, Rabelais and Geographical Discovery, Rabelais and Henry II, Rabelais under Francis I, the Paris Bookseller, Galliot Du Pré, Dorat and the Pleiade, the Renaissance precept, "Follow Nature," Montaigne's Interpreters, Pamphlets of the French Wars of Religion. Such are the subjects treated in the ten chapters contained in the book, several of them already printed in *Collection or Review*, but here revised and enlarged.

The other work, *Ronsard et L'Humanisme* by Pierre de Nolhac, confines itself to one aspect of the French Renaissance and makes one poet the centre of a discussion, the first-fruits it may be of the History of Humanism for which M. de Nolhac is commonly credited with a plan. Mr. Tilley's book was in type before he had the opportunity of consulting that of M. de Nolhac, so that the later owes nothing to the earlier work. Naturally the two authors tread more than once upon the same ground and their different approach lends interest to the perusal of their works.

Pierre de Nolhac, the author of the earlier and larger volume *Ronsard et L'Humanisme*, is a recent Academician endowed with those versatile talents generally associated with the period he writes of rather than with that he lives in. For thirty years curator of the Museum at Versailles and now installed in the same capacity at the Jacquemart-André Museum in Paris, he is equally at home and equally authoritative in the twin realms of literature and of art. Let it suffice to recall his *Histoire du Château de Versailles*, his studies of Nattier, Hubert Robert and the other painters, and those works on Petrarch which have established him as incontestable master in that domain. The present volume, permeated as it is by sound and exhaustive scholarship, takes its place like its predecessor as final authority in the subject treated. Every assertion, every description, every theory, every note, is based upon the most painstaking and exact research. Had M. de Nolhac been in search of mere réclame, more than one of his chapters might readily have been expanded into half a dozen articles based on original investigations. Instead of this, the author packs into his pages, with a sort of modest lavishness, treasures of new knowledge invaluable to students of the period he treats of. An instance in point is the note on Henri de Mesmes apropos of Dorat's indebtedness to his library, a note which cites or quotes: L. Delisle's *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits*, Peiresc's *Mémoires de Henri de Mesmes*, the dedications of Lambin's *Lucretius* (1563), the *Adversaria* of Turnèbe (1565),

Greek verses by Daurat prefacing Lambin's *Cicero* (1566), *The Clarorum Virorum Epistolae* (1561), and unedited manuscripts of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, whose places in the Library Catalogue are indicated for the benefit of those who may hereafter investigate the facts of Dorat's youth.

Material hitherto unedited abounds on his pages; here, a Latin epistle of Daurat's, or a poem by Ronsard himself, there, manuscript letters of Lambin or L'Hospital, or Nicolas Rapin. And such instances are merely typical of the procedure on every page. The abundance of the book leaves the reader wondering that life can be long enough for scholarship and grateful that, in the midst of duties very different, a scholar like M. de Nolhac can find it so.

M. de Nolhac is more than amply justified of his assertion: "Les principales nouveautés de ce livre lui viennent de l'usage qu'il fait de textes, imprimés ou inédits, de la littérature de l'Humanisme. Sans me priver de recourir à d'autres sources, ce sont celles que j'ai particulièrement recherchées comme les plus négligées jusqu'à présent." The remark but modestly prepares the reader for the substantial quality of the erudition which pervades and sustains the whole study of Ronsard's attitude towards humanism, the permutations of his own share in it, its influence upon him, and—finally—his relation with, and influence upon, the humanists of his day.

The book opens with a much needed statement of the fulness and culture of the modern Latin literature, both prose and poetry, that, in every European country, antedated and accompanied the enlarging stream of vernacular expression. Before Ronsard's success in the latter, the Neo-Latin poets "revendiquent, du même ton qu'emploiera la Pléiade, le mérite d'avoir doté la France d'un art véritable et de lui avoir fait perdre sa réputation de nation 'barbare.'" These were Ronsard's own ideas—at least before he set himself to the great task of awakening and developing the powers of the native Muse. In the performance of this task, however, lay his real gift to his country. "Ronsard a renouvelé de fond en comble la matière et la forme, l'inspiration et le vocabulaire de notre poésie. Afin de se donner tout entier à cette mission, il lui fallait, sans dédaigner l'œuvre latine de son temps, refuser nettement de s'y associer, montrer par un exemple constant que le grand style nouveau introduit par l'école suffisait à toute la poésie," and M. de Nolhac proceeds to recount the history of the humanistic influence which moulded the poet's views and style.

The first period, before Ronsard made acquaintance with his great master Dorat, was chiefly influenced by Claude Duchi "Seigneur Paul," a friend with whom he read Virgil and Horace; and by Lazare de Baif the erudite ambassador and accomplished Hellenist and Latinist. At that moment he despised contemporary French verse as much as he admired ancient and modern Latin verse, which were generally confounded together by him and his contemporaries. Of the moderns, he owed much to Marullus, Pontanus, Sannazar, Navagero, and to his own compatriots Jean Second and Salmon Macrin, whom he imitated in his own tongue and emulated in the Latin.

It was in the circle of his second patron, Jean Brinon of Médan and Villennes, that Ronsard was thrown into contact with poets and men of letters like Michel de L'Hospital, DuBellay, Dorat, Turnèbe, and, above all, Muret, later his editor. He then began to make deep acquaintance with the Latin Classic poets and to imitate them in French verses intended to be sung to a musical accompaniment. His Latin culture was also fortified, and his ideas of its possible use in the

vernacular enlarged, by Jacques Pelétier who was already preoccupied with the ideas to which Ronsard and DuBellay gave their later vogue. His initiation into Greek began when he met Dorat in the house of Lazare de Baif and became his pupil. The chapters upon Dorat, rich with original matter and illuminating comment, and adorned, it may be said in passing, with an excellent portrait, are perhaps the best in M. de Nohac's admirable work. They dissipate, finally, the common conception of Dorat as a mere industrious pedagogue and establish him as a man of solid, if somewhat indiscriminate, erudition, a sound philologist whom modern learning has not dethroned, a great and inspiring teacher who "formed" his pupils in the full sense of the word and was gratefully admired by the distinguished poets who called him Master;—"une manière de grand homme" in fact, taking high rank among the men of the Renaissance.

A chapter only less interesting than those on Dorat is that which treats of Muret who commented and explained the *Amours* of his friend as though he were a classic—expounding for the reading public the antique treasures that the learned poet had gathered from the ancients. "Mais veu qu'il y a beaucoup de choses non jamais traitées, mesme des Latins, qui me pourra reprendre de les avoir communiquées aux François?" Ronsard himself thought it needful to explain allusions in the little book of odes which followed the *Amours*—and, as M. de Nohac points out, such illumination was needed for a poet who took pleasure in bewildering the unlettered, and expressly intoxicated himself with sonorous invocations. M. de Nohac quotes in this connection the *Hymne de Bacchus*:

"O Cuisse-né Bacchus, Mystiq, Hymenean  
Carpime, Evaste, Agnien, Manique, Lenean,  
Evie, Evoulien, Baladin, Solitere,  
Vangeur, Satyre, Roy, germe des Dieux, et pere  
Martial, Momian, Cornu, Vieillard, Enfant  
Peau, Nyctelian; Gange vit trionfant  
Ton char enorgueilli de ta dextre fameuse,  
Qui avoit tout conquis jusqu'à la mer gemmeuse."

The direction of Ronsard's tastes at one moment are shown in a liminary piece he contributed to Belleau's *Anacreon*; (p. 118) and M. de Nohac indicates that here Ronsard heralded the imminent publication of that anthology of Estienne's which was so famous throughout the XVIth Century: the "*Carminum poetarum nouem lyricae poesis principum, fragmenta.*"

The first part of the book comes to a close with an investigation into Ronsard's philological scholarship—his frequentation of libraries and the composition of his own:

"mes livres, que j'aime  
Plus mille fois que toy ne que moy-mesme."

"S'il eut pour Dorat," M. de Nohac concludes, "une reconnaissance d'écolier fidèle, il n'en garda pas une moins vive pour d'autres maîtres, les livres de l'Antiquité pieusement écoutés dans le silence de son 'estude.' Il devait à ce double enseignement la formation singulière qui, sans amoindrir sa grandeur lyrique, fait de lui parmi nos poètes le plus complet des humanistes."

The second part has for its subject Ronsard's relations with contemporary humanists, at that time—whether Ronsard perceived it or not—separating into two groups: on the one hand, critical scholars, on the other, littérateurs who looked to the classics as models for their own compositions.

At court and elsewhere, the poet encountered members of both groups and formed with them ties of friendship or mere acquaintance. Each of these friends and acquaintances is dealt with in detail. Among the more learned was the great Ramus with whom Ronsard collaborated in his *Dialectique*. Whether their friendship stood fast throughout the famous attack on Ramus is matter, M. de Nohac supposes, for conjecture. The author describes at length also the hospitable household of that disciple of Erasmus, Jean de Morel, "la fleur de mes Amis,"—a household graced by a learned wife, Antoinette de Loynes, and three well-educated daughters, of whom the eldest, Camilla, did the most credit to their erudite young tutor Charles Uytenhove (Utenhovius). At the house of Morel, Ronsard met Michel de L'Hospital. To the Chancellor, and especially to his delicate intervention in the misunderstanding between Ronsard and Saint Gelais, M. de Nohac devotes several pages, publishing in this connection a manuscript letter from L'Hospital to Morel.

Even distant from Paris and the Court, Ronsard had faithful friends and disciples among humanists, with several of whom M. de Nohac renews the readers' acquaintance, searching out for the purpose many a "débris de correspondance," many a dedication from some forgotten collection;—a letter of Pierre des Mirreurs, or an *Epigram* of Etienne Forcadel. Poitiers, Bourges, Limoges, Orléans, Amiens, Champagne, had each its little group of admiring poets or littérateurs, and on many of these M. de Nohac has interesting indications. He concludes "On allongerait aisément la liste des régions françaises ici esquissée si l'on énumérait celles ou des poètes de notre langue se sont réclamés de Ronsard et de son école." Other notable acquaintances were Pontus de Tyard and the famous Joseph Scaliger; and M. de Nohac points out in detail the scope of their connection with Ronsard, quoting among other sources a "page bien oubliée," the *Munsterus Hypopolimaeus* of Janus Rutger, of whose pen Scaliger makes use for a fine defense of himself, Ronsard, and other well-known poets against the accusation that the innocent literary festival of 1552 was a pagan and sacrilegious ceremony.

Beyond France also Ronsard did not lack for admirers or readers, and M. de Nohac has interesting things to say of some of these: of the Pole, Kochanowski, who later engaged in a patriotic polemic with Desportes, of André Dudith Sbardellat of Hungary, of Janus Dousa, Van Hout and the Canter brothers who spread Ronsard's fame in the Netherlands, as did Charles Uytenhove and Plantin in Flanders, and, in Germany, Paul Melissus who often spoke Ronsard's name, followed in his steps and sincerely mourned his death.

Of Italians, Ronsard knew many at the French Court. Tasso came thither but, if the two great poets met, there is no documentary evidence of the fact. The earliest Italian poet who shows a first-hand knowledge of Ronsard's work is, M. de Nohac points out, Castelvetro, who, in his quarrel with Annibale Caro, not only sets Ronsard far above the Italian but accuses Caro—unjustly enough—of plagiarizing from the French poet. In fact, says M. de Nohac, Ronsard did not influence the Italian poets until the force of the Renaissance was spent. It was then, he shows us, that Chiabrera turned frankly for inspiration to the poets of the Pleiade; Boccacini quaintly counted Ronsard among Dante's defenders; the erudite Pinelli purchased the poet's works for his great library; Pier Vettori and Pier Angeli da Barga opined, according to Binet, that Ronsard had raised his own language to the level of the Greek or Latin; and Delbene

and Sperone Speroni offered him dedications. The literary fiction that the latter was Ronsard's friend of thirty years' standing is, however, traced to its source and proved to be vain. The learning and industry which have gone to the establishment of all these relations are evident on every page of M. de Nolhac's work.

The second part of the book concludes with an account of Ronsard's pleasant old age at the Collège de Boncourt, in the company of its head Jean Galland. It tells of his death and funeral and gives an account of the *Tombeaux* to which the distinguished poets and humanists of the time contributed. M. de Nolhac quotes from it the distich of Pontus de Tyard:

"Petrus Ronsardus iacet hic; si caetera nescis  
Nescis quid Phoebus, Musa, Minerva, Charis."

The third part deals with Ronsard's Latin works. It was Ronsard's rôle to eclipse by the new vernacular poetry not merely the older forms of French verse but modern Latin verse also and, if the scorn with which he spoke of contemporary Latin poets smacks of ingratitude, it may be, thinks M. de Nolhac, that he feared a revival of their art, especially on Baif's return to that field. Ronsard's own attitude was clear: "Sachant à merveille le prestige que donnait la double langue aux écrivains de son temps, habile autant que personne dans le maniement de latin, il n'a pas consenti, par principe, à s'en servir." Such an attitude is hardly weakened by the few fugitive Latin pieces he himself composed. Those which can be established as authentic M. de Nolhac shows to be few—consisting of seven pieces of verse and one of prose. The seven poems are here reprinted, two for the first time, one reproduced in Ronsard's autograph. The prose, an invective against Pierre Paschal, is reprinted in full from a manuscript in the Munich Library, and is given its proper place in the "quarrel" between Ronsard and his friend Paschal. A full account of Paschal's life including this strange "quarrel," and its stranger sequel of reconciliation, forms the matter of the fourth and last part, which is followed by a few pages of interesting addenda and a satisfactory index of names anterior to the XVII century.

M. de Nolhac and Mr. Tilley, as has been said, deal from time to time with the same material. This is notably the case in the latter's chapters upon *Dorat and the Pleiade* and *Humanism under Francis I.* That M. de Nolhac's book was unknown to Mr. Tilley when he composed his own gives added interest to their points of agreement. Such for instance is their common view of the value of Dorat's philological scholarship. Where M. de Nolhac quotes the men of Dorat's own day: Muret, Lipsius, Canter, Frutius, Estienne, Lambin ("les plus sûres autorités de son temps auraient dû imposer silence à l'irrévérence du nôtre")—Mr. Tilley offers later evidence of the value of Dorat's emendations of Aeschylus, the evidence, namely, of such scholars as Gottfried Hermann and the late Walter Headlam. He explains, in a page more than merely interesting, how Dorat's emendations became known to be his and adds an amusing anecdote of their shameless appropriation by a XVII century English editor, Thomas Stanley, and of the judgment which overtook the plagiarist 150 years thereafter. Agreeing with M. de Nolhac that Dorat was responsible for Ronsard's lack of discriminating taste in Greek poetry, Mr. Tilley points out that, in that day, "appreciation of the great classical writers for their style was a new thing in France," and that "Dorat's attitude to the classical master-pieces, the enthusiasm for the beauty and elevation of their style which he kindled in his pupils, marks a great advance. But it was not till a generation later that Montaigne—not a

professional scholar, but a country gentleman who loved the classics with discrimination—could with unerring taste declare that the four greatest Latin poets were Virgil, Lucretius, Horace and Catullus."

In his chapter on Humanism, Mr. Tilley very happily brings out the different outlook and situation of the Humanists of the first and second generation, the universal classicists of the reign of Francis I, and the specialists in some aspect of classical study who mark the later period. The former got their learning in the face of far greater difficulties than the latter. "In their own country there were no books, few manuscripts and still fewer teachers. Moreover, there was the constant opposition of the Paris University." These men devoured the classics, ardently desiring, as was once said of Matthieu Pac, "parvenir à l'Encyclopédie." With both the scholarly and creative forms of humanism, Mr. Tilley deals in extenso, giving some account of the Royal Professors at the Collège de Cambrai and of the lecturers in others of the more enlightened colleges. He gives an interesting glance at Humanist Medicine, Greek printing, the provincial cities, their Universities and Law Schools, including a particularly enlightening account of Lyons, in which, however, a captious critic might mark that the otherwise well-documented notes make no reference to the articles on Bartélemy Aneau by J. L. Gerig published in the *Romanic Review* and the *Revue de la Renaissance*. Mr. Tilley does not neglect the Ciceronians and other prose writers, nor, finally, the poets, to whom, however, he gives less consideration than does M. de Nolhac. Both authors agree in counting Salmon Macrin the most important of their number:—each quoting a different one of his odes for a list of contemporary Latin poets of France. On each of these Latin poets Mr. Tilley has his interesting word. Naturally they do not include those upon whom M. de Nolhac chiefly dwells, the members, namely, of Ronsard's school; for their activity fell chiefly outside the period he treats of.

Mr. Tilley's chapters on Rabelais sum up, in the main, all the recent conclusions on the subject and even find something new to add here and there to the exhaustive researches made by Abel Lefranc and his pupils. Much of this new matter is to be found in the chapter on *Rabelais and Geographical Discovery*—one of the best in the book, containing an invaluable history of voyages of discovery and books of travel beginning with "the first collection of voyages, the prototype of all succeeding collections, the *Paesi novamente ritrovati e Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino intitolato*" of 1507, and concluding with the very tentative suggestion that the so-called map of Henri II (now in the Rylands library, Manchester) "may possibly have inspired some parts of Rabelais' narrative." This delightful and amusing upside-down map is happily reproduced. Mr. Tilley concludes that Rabelais' "first idea was to conduct his travellers by way of the St. Lawrence, and that for some reason or other he abandoned this for a more northerly route, that of the North West passage. When Captain Roald Amundsen accomplished his remarkable voyage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, he realised the dream of nearly five centuries. But it was not a short way to the East by the West for it took three years to accomplish."

The chapter on Galliot du Pré, the Paris publisher and bookseller, which is the most authoritative in the volume, contains a brief account of publishing in France, and concludes with a full chronological list of publications by that printer wherein each volume is by description identified, and the library that contains it or the source of the description set down.



The chapter called "Follow Nature" concludes that neither Rabelais nor Montaigne, who had widely different attitudes towards Nature, regarded the precept "Follow Nature" as "an invitation to license. It was a recognition that there is a certain relativity in morals, that we must not judge all men by the same rigid and absolute standard, that we must make allowances for differences of temperament and character and environment." The chapter on *Montaigne's Interpreters* is especially original, beginning with Charron and Mlle. de Gournay and coming down to Strowski and Villey. "From the clash of these diverse interpretations," says Mr. Tilley, "and from the renewed and more penetrating examination of Montaigne's own testimony which they invite, certain points of agreement seem to emerge," e.g., . . . "that the Christian religion had no influence on his ethical conduct, that it taught him neither how to live nor how to die." . . . "But there remains a further field of inquiry. Montaigne, it is now generally recognized, was not an out and out sceptic; in spite of his *Que sais-je?* he held and expressed some very definite opinions, in particular on education. What were these opinions? What was his message to those who came after him?" . . . "Individualism—Nature—Conscience—what parts did these play in Montaigne's mature philosophy of life? Here is a rich subject upon which we may look for further light from his future interpreters. They will find an admirable point of departure in the thoughtful passages of M. Villey and also in some suggestive notes which M. Lanson has printed in *La Civilisation Française*."

Treatment, both thoughtful and suggestive, of his own material is characteristic of Mr. Tilley, both where he has new matter to offer and when he expounds for the English reader the final conclusions of French scholars on long-debated points. An assiduous reader of his book and that of M. de Nolhac will not only make full acquaintance with certain aspects of the French Renaissance but must become familiar with clues to guide him even farther afield into that absorbing subject.

C. RUUTZ-REES

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## A LINGUISTIC AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL ATLAS OF THE RAETIAN AND ITALIAN SPEECH- DOMAIN OF SWITZERLAND AND OF UPPER AND CENTRAL ITALY<sup>1</sup>

### A. PLAN OF THE ATLAS.—B. METHOD EMPLOYED IN THE RECORDING OF DIALECTS FROM 1918-1923; RESULTS TO BE ATTAINED

#### A. PLAN OF THE ATLAS

##### I

AS is well known, J. Gilliéron and E. Edmont published in the years 1902-1908 an *Atlas linguistique de la France* which was subsidized by the French Government. During the years 1897-1901 the entire French speech-domain lying without as well as within the frontiers of France had been traversed in all directions by E. Edmont, a Picard scholar of an unusually practical turn of mind, with a view to finding in some seven hundred towns natives likely to give him reliable information for the phonetic recording of dialectal varieties.

The originator of the whole undertaking, Jules Gilliéron, a native of Switzerland and Professor at the École des Hautes Études in Paris, had provided Edmont with a questionnaire of nearly two thousand words and phrases of literary French, for which the latter expected his informants to give him the corresponding dialectal equivalents.

The dialectal pronunciation was noted down by Edmont with the utmost possible accuracy by means of a special system

<sup>1</sup> In the pages that follow, the abbreviation *ASI* will invariably be used for the title *Atlas of the Raetian and Italian Speech-Domain*.

of transcription, and the results of this phonetic recording were immediately communicated to his collaborator at Paris, who at once prepared the collected material for printing on speech-charts. In these charts the entire French speech-domain is placed before our eyes, the numbers designating the localities in which Edmont made his dialect study, and the dialectal form standing immediately by the side of the number. Thanks to this ingenious geographical arrangement of the dialect material, the student may survey at a glance the dialectal expressions corresponding to a given literary word or phrase, and is thus relieved to a very considerable extent of the arduous and time-consuming task of collecting the material himself. In the charts devised by Gilliéron, the status of the French dialects towards the close of the nineteenth century has, as it were, been fixed in an instantaneous photograph.

The linguistic atlas of France is a work which can never be supplanted for the reason that even today the particular phase of the French dialects which it represents has already passed into history. By a number of fundamental studies based upon the material of his *Atlas linguistique de la France*, Gilliéron has blazed new paths for science.

The fundamental considerations underlying the methods of investigation originated by him, methods based upon the principle that linguistic phenomena are determined by geographical conditions, may be summed up as follows:

(a) It is in atlases that the direction and course of the speech-waves traversing a given country may be graphically portrayed.

(b) Speech-charts permit us to discern, more clearly than would otherwise be possible, the stratification of linguistic phenomena and the history of their development.

(c) The close relations existing between the political, ecclesiastical and linguistic history of a people are thus made to stand out with surprising clearness. In France, for illustration, the question as to the Iberian, Celtic and other pre-Roman survivals in the vocabulary receives an entirely new illumination from the study of the charts.

(d) The speech-charts serve to deepen, if indeed they do not for the first time render possible, the scientific discussion of a

number of questions of principle, such as the extent of the validity of phonetic laws, the nature of analogy in language, the relation of word and meaning, the reasons for the loss of words, cultural and linguistic boundaries, etc. It is safe to say that by his publication of the *Atlas linguistique* Gilliéron ushered in a new era for Romance philology. As a result of this innovation the lectures of Gilliéron became the rallying-point of the younger generation of European students of Romance linguistics. These students received from him new perspectives for their researches.

## II

No one who has been in the habit of consulting the *Atlas linguistique de la France* for his studies in linguistic evolution can help regretting greatly the absence of a similar work for the Raetian and Italian dialects. And this all the more, inasmuch as these dialects, with the exception of certain parts of the Gallo-Romance territory, not only exhibit a greater variety of forms than the other Romance dialects, but are directly connected with those of the French domain, the Raetian-Italian territory being the continuation of the French. The Italian atlas is therefore an indispensable complement of the French. In many cases, the problems are the same in all the three territories. An atlas of Raetian-Italian folk-speech is therefore a great desideratum, and it is accordingly a source of great satisfaction to be able to say that its realization was undertaken some years ago by two Swiss scholars, Karl Jaberg and Jakob Jud, the one Professor of Romance Philology in Berne, the other in Zurich; and that for the past three years and a half this work has been carried on by another Swiss investigator, Dr. Paul Scheuermeier, in the capacity of collecting expert ("explorator").

## III

The questionnaire which Professors Jaberg and Jud employ for the Raetian-Italian speech-territory is somewhat more comprehensive than the one used for the purpose of the *Atlas linguistique de la France*. While arranged according to similar principles, it is adapted to the peculiar cultural and linguistic genius of the Raetian and Italian population of Switzerland

and of Italy. It is the outgrowth of the experiences which the two investigators had in the course of their dialect studies in Piedmont, in Lombardy, in the Swiss cantons of Ticino and the Grisons. This questionnaire, which we call the "normal questionnaire," comprises about two thousand words, and forms a number which for purposes of publication would require as many charts. This so-called "normal questionnaire" was used as the basis of investigation in about two hundred and thirty places. In addition to this we prepared a larger questionnaire comprising nearly four thousand words and forms, intended to serve as the basis of examination in about twenty places. Finally, our collecting expert ("explorator") is provided with a reduced questionnaire of about eight hundred words and short sentences, which is to answer the purpose of dialect-recording in the larger cities.

In the following paragraph we give, by way of illustration, one of the pages of the questionnaire which Dr. Scheuermeier employs in examining the dialect of his respective informants.

L'orzo è maturo  
 l'avena non è ancora matura  
 la spiga plur  
 le stoppie  
 il miglio  
 il gran turco  
 la pannocchia (torsolo, tutolo)  
 i cartocci (foglie secche della pannocchia, del granturco.  
 il tempo delle messe  
 mietere (spiegazione esatta della parola)  
 spigolare  
 la falce messoria (è dentata o liscia?)  
 segare il formento (si sega colla falce messoria o colla falce  
     fienaia?)  
 il mietitore, la mietitrice.  
 il covone (forma: manipolo?)  
 legare i covoni, lega i covoni.

In contrast to Gilliéron and Edmont, the directors of the Raetian-Italian *Atlas* went a step further in that they decided

to include in their study *objects* as well as words, by recording them either by photography or by free-hand drawing, with a view later—if occasion should arise—to reproducing them cartographically, or else publishing them in an illustrated supplementary volume (showing, *e.g.*, the distribution of certain forms of houses, of tools, of agricultural methods, etc.).

#### IV

The tour of exploration undertaken by Dr. Scheuermeier may be compared to an expedition in the service of the geographical or natural sciences. Just as the student of natural science collects animals, plants or minerals, or the ethnologist collects tools and other cultural products of foreign peoples, or makes observations on their manner of living and their ideas, so does the student of dialects collect words and forms. To prepare a collection, to arrange in systematic order the material collected, and to render it accessible for general use either in a library or in a published work, such is the first task to be performed by the directors of a voyage of dialect exploration.

The dialect study necessary for the *Atlas linguistique de la France* was undertaken by E. Edmont; that for the *ASI*, as has already been said, by Dr. Paul Scheuermeier, a young Swiss philologist. Before assuming this task, Dr. Scheuermeier had already made himself familiar with its difficult problems partly by his preparations for an exceedingly meritorious dissertation published in 1920,<sup>2</sup> partly through practical instruction in dialect notation received chiefly from Professor Jaberg.

It need hardly be said that the successful exploration of *patois* or dialects requires very special qualifications of both a physical and a moral order. The explorer must be physically fit, in order to endure the primitive and uncomfortable conditions of life in which he has to work. He must, as well, be prepared to dispel the suspicion and win the confidence of those who are to be his informants as to their native speech. He must be a close observer, discovering and photographing types of houses, domestic utensils and agricultural implements which are peculiar to a certain region. He must be interested

<sup>2</sup> *Einige Bezeichnungen für den Begriff "Höhle" in den romanischen Alpen-dialekten*. Halle, 1920 (Beiheft der Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 69).



in the kind of implement for thrashing grain employed today and in former times by the peasant of Lombardy, of Piedmont, of Tuscany, of the Swiss cantons of Ticino and the Grisons. Instead of contenting himself with the expression *farcla* for 'sickle,' he must seek to ascertain whether the sickle is "toothed" or "plain," etc. All these requirements are met by Dr. Scheuermeier, who has shown himself to be at once explorer, ethnographer and photographer.

## V

As to the pecuniary means necessary for the accomplishment of this work, they were obtained not from the State, but from private patrons of science, in coöperation with the "Foundation for Scientific Research at the University of Zurich" and the "University Association (*Hochschulverein*) of Berne." 19000 francs were contributed by the Zurich Foundation, 10000 by the generosity of the well-known Milan publisher, Dr. U. Hoepli (a native of Switzerland), and 1600 each by Messrs. A. Tobler, P. Jaberg, Hardmeyer & Abegg, and the directors of the undertaking.

## B. MANNER OF EXECUTION OF THE WORK, AND RESULTS TO BE ATTAINED

Dr. Scheuermeier began his tour of exploration on November 19, 1919. By the end of April of the present year (1923), that is, after an uninterrupted itinerary of nearly three years and a half, he had covered the territory shown by Chart No. I, here subjoined:

Almost the whole of Raetian and Italian Switzerland, the whole of Upper Italy north of the river Po between Fiume and Monte Viso, and almost the whole of Piedmont as well as the Riviera di Ponente, Emilia and Romagna.

In one hundred and eighty villages which the directors had carefully selected in advance, Dr. Scheuermeier recorded the dialect peculiarities uniformly on the basis of the "normal questionnaire." As for the other questionnaire, which, as stated above, was adapted to the varying natural and cultural conditions of the Alps and the plain, we are glad to say that it stood the test admirably.

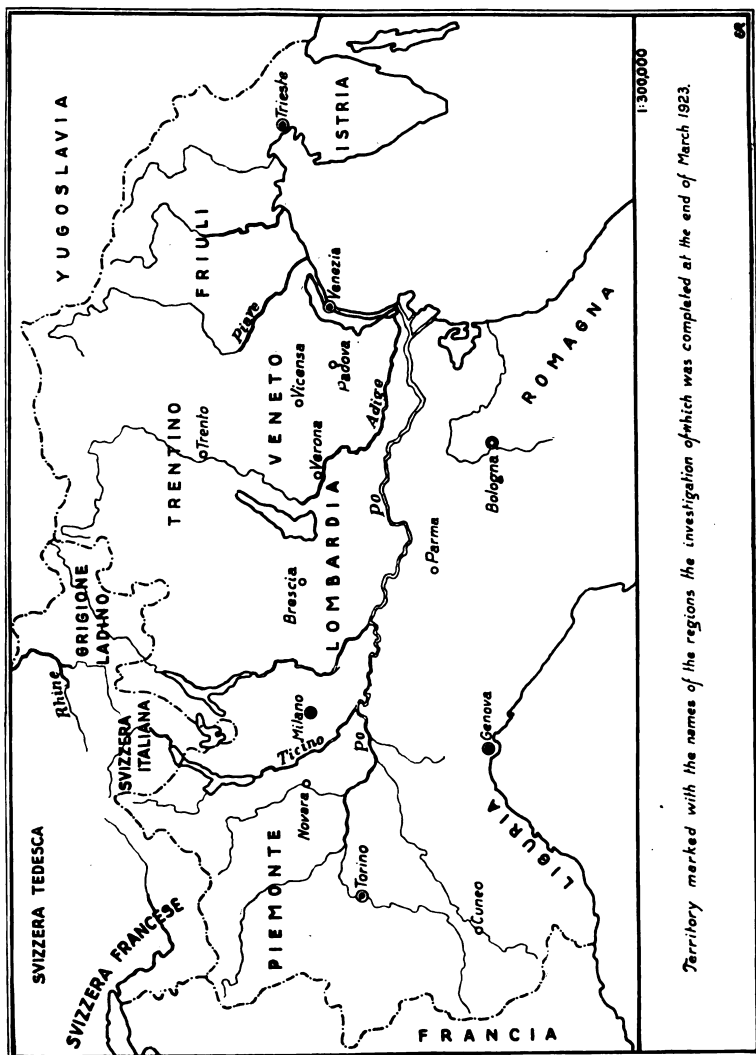


CHART I

Take, for example, the following illustration: The multi-form variety of expressions for the idea 'to stutter' found by Dr. Scheuermeier in the dialects of Italian Switzerland and Upper Italy is surprisingly great. As a result of the study of more than thirty Lombard *patois* spoken between the Ticino and the Mincio, he received the following equivalents to the formula: *tartaglia*,<sup>3</sup> 'he stutters':

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (1) al bɛtɛga, bɛtɛga (in eleven places) | (9) al kʉkɛθa                                |
| (2) al mɛtɛga                            | (10) al kakáza                               |
| (3) pɛtɛga                               | (11) ɛl kɛkia                                |
| (4) al bütɛga                            | (12) al kɔŋkɛta                              |
| (5) žbɛθɛga                              | (13) ɛ s' intartáya, tartáya (in six places) |
| (6) al baǵóta                            | (14) parla tartáy                            |
| (7) al s' iŋkukúna                       | (15) ɛl dardáta                              |
| (8) al s' ɛŋkukáya                       | (16) ɛl šforsfoyo, etc.                      |

As names of the lizard we find, beside many variants of *lucerta*, the following forms in the territories of Venetia, Friuli and Istria.

a. Variants and transformations of *lucerta*:

- |  |                 |
|--|-----------------|
| (1) ližérte, ližérta, užérta, ižértɔya | (6) džétara     |
| (2) lužértie                           | (7) θítarótɛ    |
| (3) ližɛltrɛ                           | (8) nažérda     |
| (4) rižíarta, rišárdu'a                | (9) žgrizárdɔla |
| (5) dižvyérta                          | (10) bišárdɔla  |

b. Other equivalents:

- |                            |                |
|----------------------------|----------------|
| (1) zbíšɛ, žbíša           | (5) bišaɔrbuya |
| (2) skɔrkɔríða             | (6) bišárbɔya  |
| (3) kūšcarítsa, gūšcarítsa | (7) rigéstuya  |
| (4) búrítuya               |                |

From the above examples it will be seen to what an extent *ASI* at one stroke exposes the great diversity of forms and

<sup>3</sup> The phonetic transcription adopted conforms on the whole to the system used by Boehmer: *č, ġ* are the palatal sounds of English *church, just*. *l* is *l* mouillé. *θ* is the voiceless spirant of English *thin*, *ð* the voiced spirant of English *then*. *š* denotes a voiceless spirant between *s* and *ž*.

words in the domain under review. The student will no longer be obliged to turn the leaves of scores of dictionaries in order to collect the names of the lizard, or the forms of the word for Ital. *pipistrello*, or the expressions for the idea 'to limp'; one single chart will open up before him the linguistic situation throughout the whole of Italy, which, in certain sections at least, will be made even more perspicuous by means of photographs. To illustrate: the chart for the designation of the 'scythe' will give not only all the vocables for this idea employed in Italy, but will also supply pictures of the various types of scythe in the several regions of Switzerland and Italy. At the end of April of the current year more than one thousand photographs were at hand preserving the record of an exceedingly rich *matériel* which will unquestionably prove of great interest to the student of ethnography.

Types of provincial buildings, domestic utensils of varied form employed for reeling and spinning, archaic methods of thrashing, types of ploughs and oil-presses, various forms of the scythe, of the sickle, of the implements for haying, the everywhere divergent forms of the cart and of the sleigh and sled peculiar to the plain and the Alps, etc.,—all these objects are permanently recorded in the pictures.

Subjoined are the reproductions of a few photographs which may serve to show how the study of words is planned to go hand in hand with that of things.

How clearly the speech-life of modern Italy is mirrored in our charts may be well seen in the two which follow.

On the first chart (No. II) will be found registered the dialect forms for Italian *giovedì* in the Upper-Italian territory lying north of the Po. For brevity, the distribution of the several types is indicated in the chart by means of hatching.

Upper Italy and Italo-Raetian Switzerland have today two <sup>4</sup> types of words for 'Thursday': (1) JOVIS DIE: *giovedì* (hatched in vertical straight lines); (2) *jovia* (= DIES JOVIA): *giobia* <sup>5</sup> (indicated with dots). E.g., Piedm. *giobia*, Venet. *zioba*, Friul.

<sup>4</sup> The Western Alps, on whose Italian side one also hears Provençal and Franco-Provençal dialects, have *jeus* < *jovis*, or let us say *diȝos* (vertical wavy line).

<sup>5</sup> For practical reasons the common form peculiar to a whole region is here given in *Italian* transcription (i.e., with the spelling of literary Italian).

*joibe*, Raetian central *žuebia* (Gröden), Engad. *giövgia*, Sursilv. *gievgia* (also Sardinian, as Logudor. *jobia*).

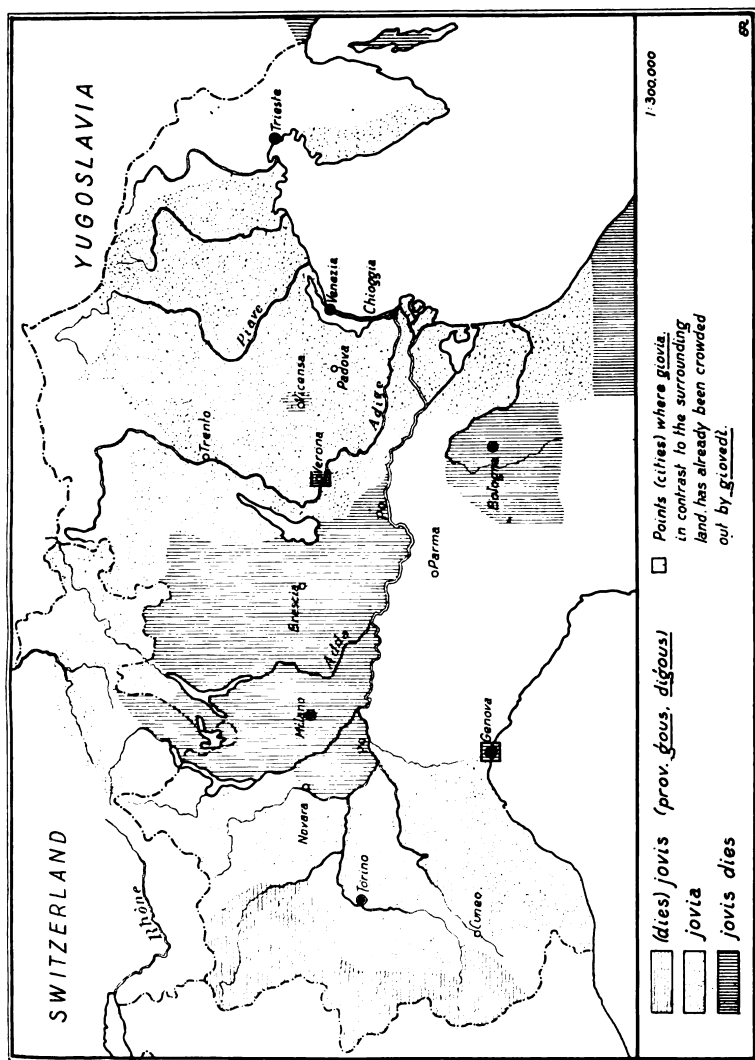
As will be seen from the chart above, in Central Italy *jovia* is today crowded back to the Alps, and the literary word *giovedì* is steadily advancing across the Po. The medieval dialect texts of Upper Italy leave no doubt that in former times *jovia* was current even in those parts of Upper Italy where today people say *giovedì*.



Dr. Scheuermeier taking down the dialect-forms given him by his informant in Grado near Aquileia. This informant is one of the last surviving representatives of the archaic Venetian dialect of the island.

Milan and Pavia say today *giovedì*, but in the Middle Ages they said *zobia*. No less instructive in this respect is Como. While today this city also uses *giovedì*, not more than eighty years ago it used *giöbia*, as we learn from the following statement of Pietro Monti, *Vocabolario dei dialetti della città e diocesi di Como* (1854): "Udii già *giöbia* da vecchi montanari presso Como; ora è viva solo nella frase *giöbia* o *giöbiana grassa*, 'giovedì grasso.'"

Our modern chart permits us in a measure to see how *giovedì* is taking possession of Upper Italy: The squares indicate the



points where today we already hear *giovedì* in the midst of the *jovia*-territory or very close to it. The cities of Genoa, Verona and Novara are the first to adopt the literary form. The capital sets the example for the speech of the province: Milan having surrendered to *giovedì* as long as two centuries ago, a large part of the Milanese *campagna* has passed over to the same form, and we find this form even now entering the Swiss canton of Ticino along the St. Gotthard-line, and dislodging *jovia*. It appears very clearly from this how well our chart preserves a given phase of the linguistic unification of the domain of Italian speech, setting forth in small compass how the *κοινὴ* of modern Italy is making conquest of the dialects.



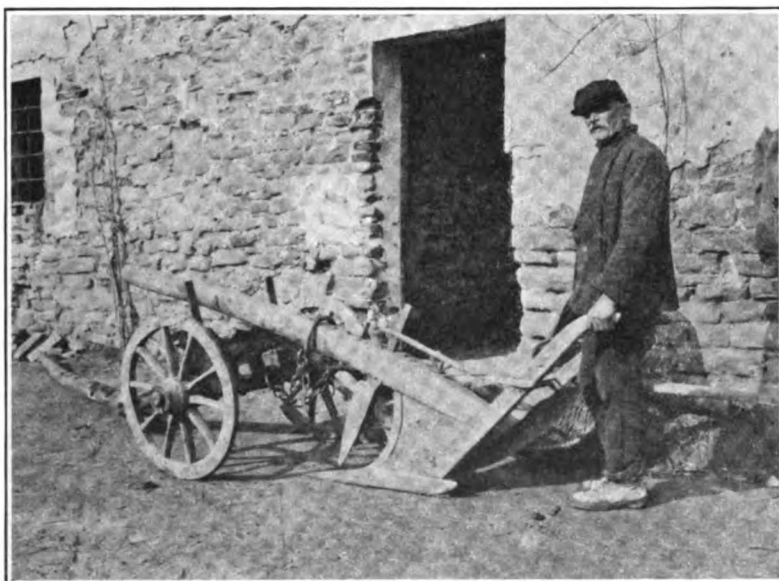
Picture taken in the fishing village of Grado, July 11, 1922. The people are standing in front of the *kazūni*, or fisher huts made chiefly of reed grass, with one single room, one gate or door and one window. In the square is seen standing a *balirón* or large "barile" (= barrel), and leaning on this some *stàvāli* or boots, which the fishermen use in wading in the water. On the right is seen a boy carrying a *kəfo* or fish-basket; on the left several nets and contrivances for catching fish (described in the *Atlas*).

The next chart (No. III) represents to us the dialect forms of the name for 'church,' Ital. *chiesa*. Here we may today distinguish three different territories:

(1) The Raetian *baselgia* (< BASILICA) of the Swiss canton of the Grisons;

(2) *ġesa* (that is, with voiced fricative), corresponding to the Old French *église*, *glise* (cf. *glande*, Fr. *gland*, Upper Ital. *ġanda*);

(3) the zone having *česa* (that is, with voiceless fricative), which corresponds exactly to Ital. *chiesa* (cf. Ital. *chiamare*, Upper Ital. *čamar*; Ital. *chiaro*, Upper Ital. *čar*).



A typical plough of the Romagna, photographed in Brisighella, south of Faenza, February 1, 1923. The indigenous name of this plough is *ε̇ pargēr*, its fore-carriage being called *ε̇ kariñal* (described in detail in the *Atlas*).

If now we wish to find out whether *ġesa* or *česa* is the older form in Upper Italy, we shall obtain an unmistakable hint from the chart itself: *ġesa* is not met with anywhere within the sphere of *česa*, whereas the latter form appears at two points within the sphere of *ġesa*, namely in Turin and in Cuneo. We see furthermore that *ġesa*, the same as *jovia* in the preceding chart, is pushed back toward the Alps. The disposition of *ġesa* is peripheral (Friuli, Alps, Piedmont), whereas that of *česa* is central, this form being in direct touch with the centre of Italy (Emilia, Romagna, Toscana). Here again the charters and other old texts prove beyond a doubt that in former times



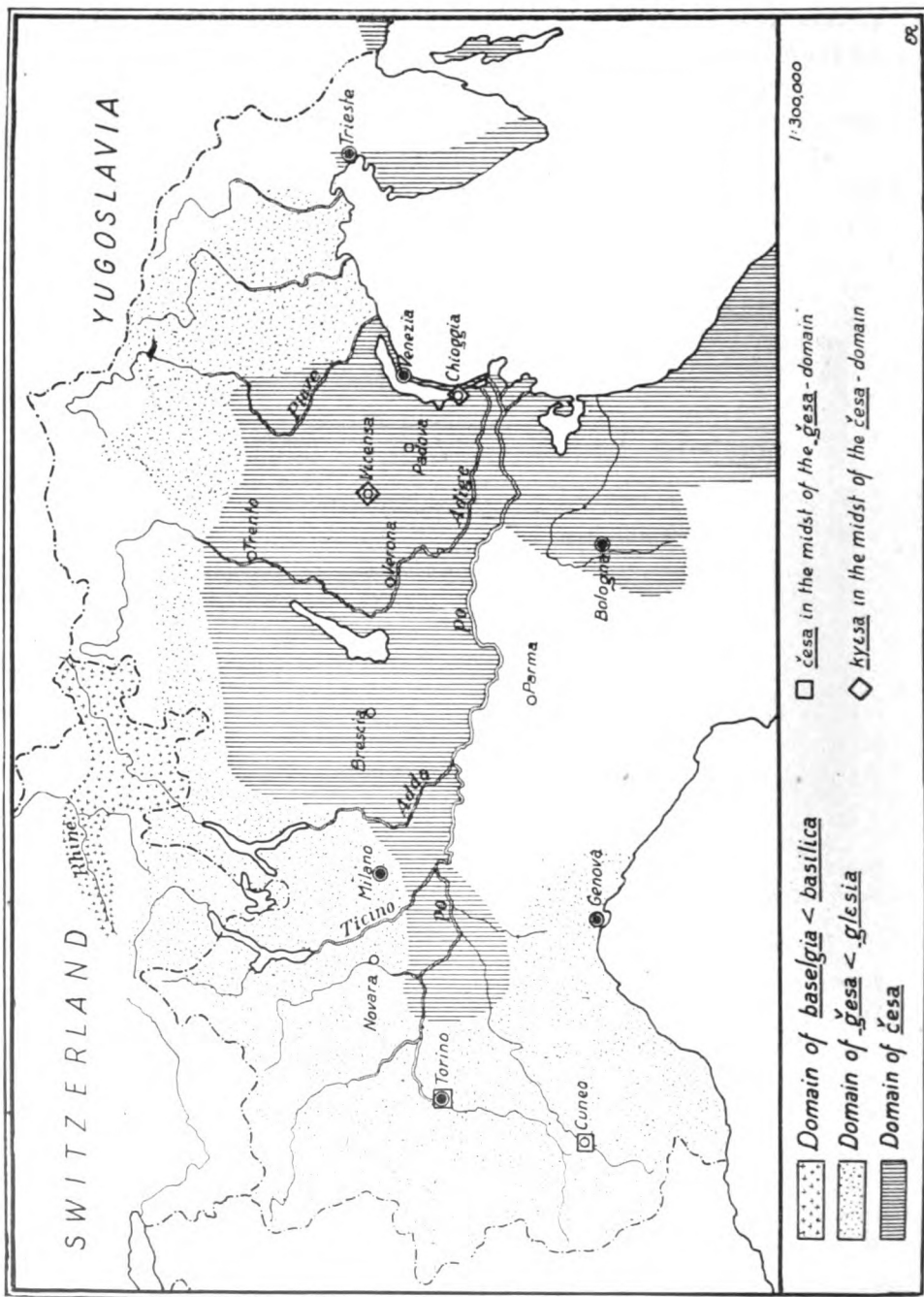


CHART III

Ġesa was in current use in the modern domain of ċesa, in other words, that Ġesa lies embedded under the cover of ċesa.

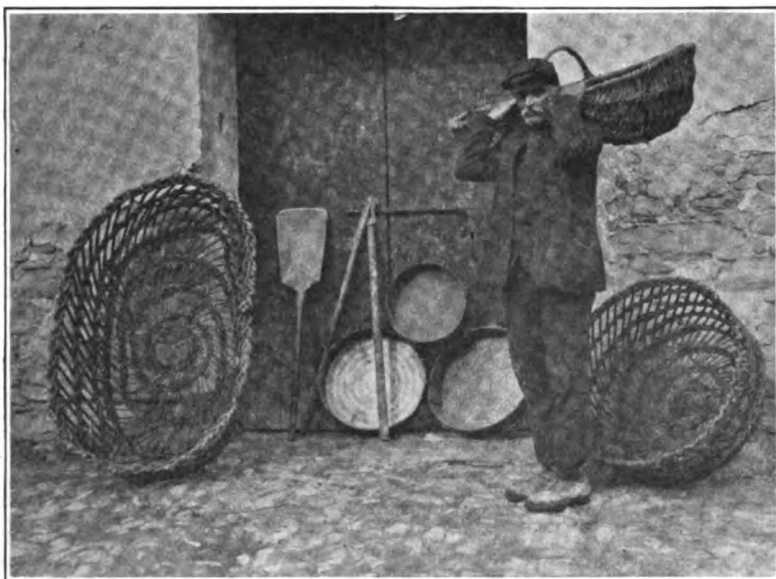
In Treviso today ċesa, in the Middle Ages ġesia.

In Venetia today ċesa, in the Middle Ages ġesia.

In Trento today ċesa, in the Middle Ages ġesia.

In Bergamo today ċesa, in the Middle Ages zesia.

Another instructive lesson to be drawn from our chart is the importance of the capital of a diocese for linguistic development. Milan and Como having tenaciously retained the old form Ġesa, this form is still familiar to the whole diocese from Milan to Como; on the other hand, the cities of Bergamo, Verona and Trent having adopted ċesa, have been followed in this by the major part of the respective diocese.



Taken at Brisighella February 1, 1923. The man is seen holding on his back a basket bowed out in the middle, *s'ġšt da karga*, in which grapes are carried. To the left and the right of the door there are other baskets; at the right *ġēba*, at the left *krē*, both kinds being employed for carrying fodder. Leaning against the door are seen, from left to right: *la pēda*, 'shovel'; *la sērēa*, 'flail'; *ē vāl*, 'sieve with longish holes' (modern); *ē tramās*, 'sieve with round holes' (both used for cleaning corn); standing on the two sieves lying on the floor we find *ē zdās*, 'a fine wire-sieve for flour.'

The history of *ecclesia* may therefore be read on our speech-charts very much as geological phenomena may be read on a geological chart, and may be summed up as follows:

(1) In the Middle Ages *česa* was the form currently used in the whole of Upper Italy north of the Po.

(2) The form *česa* is a compromise between Ital. *chiesa* and the old indigenous *česa*, the analogy of such parallels as *Chiaro*: *čar*, *Chiamare*: *čamar*, *Chiave*: *čaf* having led to the development of *česa* as a form standing closer to *chiesa*. As has already been said, *česa* is pressing *česa* more and more to the North, East and West, and is now in possession of all central Upper Italy.

(3) Within this new domain of *česa*, however, we find a form *kyeza* at two points. In these two points, in other words, the literary form *chiesa* is beginning to usurp the place of *česa*. It is thus that our charts permit us today to follow step by step the process of the linguistic unification of Italy. Our charts reflect the linguistic conditions of 1920. Twenty years from now, this unifying movement in favor of *česa* and *čhiesa* will doubtless be found to have made very considerable progress to the disadvantage of *česa*. It will be clear from this that the study of the charts of this linguistic atlas affords a deep insight into the various phases of the decline of the dialects of Italy and the encroachment of the literary speech of Tuscan origin upon the North and the Centre of the Peninsula.

## V

The recording of dialects by the *ASI*, which, as has been said, is to comprise Raetian and Italian Switzerland, Emilia, Romagna, Liguria and Tuscany, will be completed by the end of the year 1923. As regards the details of the publication of the work, such as the printing, name of the publisher, etc., these will be made known to the readers of the *ROMANIC REVIEW* next year. In the present article the directors have only intended to call the attention of the English-speaking scientific public to a work which, in their opinion, cannot fail to impart a new and strong impulse to research in the field of Romance linguistics.<sup>6</sup>

K. JABERG, J. JUD

BERNE, ZURICH,  
April 1923

<sup>6</sup> Translated from the unpublished German original by H. R. Lang.

# THE ORIGINAL VERSION OF TORRES NAHARRO'S COMEDIA TINELLARIA

TO the best of my knowledge no Spanish sixteenth century play has been preserved in more than one authentic version,<sup>1</sup> or even with notable authentic variants. With the exception of the collection of *Autos* reprinted by Rouanet from the great Madrid *auto*-manuscript and of a set of school-plays which are still unprinted, practically the whole of the sixteenth century Spanish drama has come down to us in printed editions only, and these not always first editions, nor often in more than one copy. Under such conditions it is all the more interesting to find an authentic and unknown version of a play by Torres Naharro, the father, some say, of the Spanish drama, "en [cuyas] páginas, regocijadas y luminosas," as Menéndez y Pelayo put it, "vive la triunfante alegría del Renacimiento español."<sup>2</sup> The play is the *Comedia Tinellaria*, a masterly *cuadro de costumbres* which in certain early sixteenth century circles enjoyed a popularity comparable with that of the *Celestina*.<sup>3</sup> It was included, as is well known, in the first edition of the *Propalladia*,

<sup>1</sup> The text of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz' *Farsa sobre el Matrimonio*, Medina del Campo, 1553 (or is it 1603?), reprinted by Gallardo (*Ensayo*, I, 929 ff.), differs somewhat from the text in the *Recopilación*, as reprinted by D. V. Barrantes, but there is no proof of its being authentic. The text of the *Farsa del Rey David* as reprinted by Gallardo (I, 718 ff.) is different from the text in the *Recopilación* only because the former does not include an adventitious sort of "Paso de un pastor y un portugués," attached to the *Farsa*, somewhat like the "Paso del Portugués" after the *Comedia Fenisa*. (Reprinted by A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Cinco obras dramáticas anteriores a Lope de Vega*, Rev. hisp., XXVII (1912), 390 ff.)

<sup>2</sup> End of his *Estudio preliminar* on Torres Naharro, in the edition of the *Propalladia* begun by M. Cañete in 1880 and concluded by Menéndez y Pelayo in 1900. *Libros de Antaño*, IX and X.

<sup>3</sup> Said Silvano to the "Lozana Andaluza" in Rome: "... Dadme licencia, y mirá quando mandais que venga a servir." "

—Lozana. "Mi señor, no sea mañana ni el sábado, que terné prisa, pero sea el domingo á cená / y todo el lunes, porque quiero me leais, vos que teneis gracia, las coplas de Fajardo, y la comedia Tinalaria (*sic*) y á Celestina, que huelgo de oír leer estas cosas muncho." Francisco Delicado, *Retrato de la Lozana Andaluza* (1524), Mamotreto, XLVII (*Colección de libros picarescos*, Madrid, Serra), p. 182.

Naples 1517, but had appeared before, in a *suelta*, of which a unique copy was discovered in the Public Library of Oporto,<sup>4</sup> by D. Pascual de Gayangos. D. Pascual sent a description of his find to La Barrera for one of the supplements to La Barrera's *Catálogo*<sup>5</sup> and Menéndez y Pelayo, in his study on the *Propalladia*, referred to it and reproduced the dedication.<sup>6</sup> The dedication is addressed to Torres Naharro's patron, D. Bernardino Carvajal, Cardenal de Santa Cruz, who, because of his open revolt against the election of Julius II, had been excommunicated in 1511. It represents Carvajal as attending a performance of the *Tinellaria* before Julius the Second's successor, Leo X, who pardoned Carvajal in June 1513.<sup>7</sup> The inference is that this performance took place, and that the *suelta* was printed, after 1513. Also before 1517, since Torres Naharro speaks of himself as not yet having published any of his plays.<sup>8</sup> The *suelta* of the *Tinellaria* was thus well known, and might have been used for the modern edition of Torres Naharro's works, but although Menéndez y Pelayo procured transcripts of the *Psalmos* and the *Concilio de los Galanes* from Oporto<sup>9</sup> he probably neglected to do the same for the *Tinellaria*, for this *suelta* offers a somewhat different text of the *Tinellaria*, with a number of additional stanzas, enough in fact to justify its being called the original *version* of the play.<sup>10</sup> It is evidently as authentic as the text of the 1517 edition, which Torres Naharro must personally have prepared.

The *suelta* has not yet been completely described:

COMEDIA TI= / NELARIA. / [Gothic letters:] Sãctissimo  
Domino Nostro. D. L. / .X. Pont. Max. oblata: per / Barth. D.  
Torres / Naharro [Papal Arms.] [At bottom, in ink, modern,

<sup>4</sup> Included in a volume marked H. 1, 10 also containing the only known copies of Torres Naharro's *Psalmos* and his *Concilio de los Galanes*.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 722.

<sup>6</sup> *L.c.*, II, p. xi, n. 2, after a copy furnished by Mrs. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos.

<sup>7</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo, *l.c.*, pp. viii ff.

<sup>8</sup> Trasdesto me demando la causa porque no dexaua estampar lo que screuia. Si lo primero V. S. R. de otras cosas mias ouiera hecho. Lo segundo no *estowiera por hazer.*" (Our italics.)

<sup>9</sup> *L.c.*, p. xviii.

<sup>10</sup> It is a pleasure to express sincere thanks to Mr. João Grave, Director of the Public Library of Oporto, whose kindness made it possible to secure a photographic reproduction of the Torres Naharro documents in Oporto.

1516]. Roman letter. 4°, 18 unnumbered sheets, including title-page. Sigs. Aii, B, Bii, C, Cii, D, Dii, Diii. Page-titles: PROHEMIO, ARGUMENTO, CO. TINEL. JOR. PRIMERA, CO. TINELARIA, JOR. PRIMERA [Primera . . . Qvinta]. Reverse of the title-page: Dedication. Aii: PROHEMIO, Following page: IORNADA PRIMERA, etc. Act V ends with ¶ DIXIMVS. No colophon.

There is little doubt that this *suelta* was used as a basis for the text of the *princeps*. Both have a number of identical misprints: *segum*, *soios*, *braueer* [?], *rrabaja*, *tiennnen*, *desahaze*, *macebo*, *leuentar*. The *suelta* sometimes uses *z* instead of regular *c* (*senar*, *zena*, *zenaremos*). Instead of *ñ*, which was not available in most Italian printerries, *nn* is used, wherever it is not possible to put an abbreviation sign for *n* on a preceding *a* or *e* (*compñnero*). This, together with a few italianized spellings (*morto*; *antipasto*, *segnor*) points to an Italian press.<sup>11</sup> The vocabulary has been consistently hispanized for the *princeps*. *Jarro* is substituted for *flasco* (It. *frasco*), *real* mostly for *carlin* (once for *iulio*), *hurtar* for *robar* (It. *rubare*), *establo* for *estala* (It. *stalla*), *meson* for *osteria*, *alquilada* for *logada* (It. *allogare*). The title *Cardenal de Bacano* replaces in most cases *Cardenal Egiptiano*.

The *Tinellaria* describes, as is well known, the extravagance, waste and dissolute life among the servants and retainers of large establishments, in this case, the household of a mythical cardinal of San Iano in Rome. The scene is the *tinelo* or servants' refectory, not unknown in Spanish literature.<sup>12</sup> There is no action, but much discussion, intrigue, quarreling, eating and drinking, amidst a babel

<sup>11</sup> There is no conclusive evidence of its having been published in Rome, as La Barrera ("hecha indudablemente en Roma") and Menéndez y Pelayo (*l.c.*, p. xi) would have it, although it is very likely, what with the pope's name and coat of arms on the title-page.

<sup>12</sup> Covarrubias defines it as: "lugar o aposento donde la familia [meaning of course the "famillos" or retainers] de vn señor se junta a comer, es nombre Aleman [de *tin* ó *tix* = *mesa*] . . . y hase de aduertir que estas mesmas son ordinarias [i.e., 'ordinaries,' 'table d'hôte eating-houses'] de gente, y que siempre estan puestas, como las de los refitorios." Marcos de Obregón gave an excellent description of the Spanish *tinelo* where he starved (Vicente Espinel, *El Escudero Marcos de Obregón* (1618, *Relación I, Descanso VIII*) but no better than before him Prudencio in Castillejo's *Diálogo y Discurso de la Vida de Corte*, (Castro's ed., Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxii, 221.) Torres Naharro also mentions the *tinelo* in the *Trophea*, II, l. 112 and V, l. 203.

of tongues, French and Latin, Valencian, Portuguese, Italian and Spanish.

In the first act, Barrabas, the *credenciero*,<sup>13</sup> quarrels with his mistress, the *lavandera*,<sup>14</sup> and sends her home placated with promises and gifts of food. He and the *escalco* begin to arrange for luncheon. The French cook *Metreianes* is instructed to set aside the best morsels for them and their friends, and the cook's shortcomings are discussed: <sup>15</sup>

Escalco. no es menester que le den  
del aguijon al calcaño  
Barrabas. o hideputa pues quien.  
Escalco. voto a dios ques buen conpañio  
Barrabas. no notais  
las dos libras que le dais  
que lleue donde sabeis?  
quando vos alli no estais  
voto a dios que toma seis

The *suelta* here continues with the following *copla*:

[a] Escalco. buen camino  
tu donde tienes el tino  
que no miras lo que toma?  
Barrabas. no estaria alli contino  
si me diessen toda Roma

They retire with Matia and amid lively discussion, to the room of Barrabas, where they feast on the fat of the land, before the regular luncheon hour.

<sup>13</sup> 'Taster,' 'cup-bearer.'

<sup>14</sup> This was not an unusual arrangement judging by Castillejo, an authority on *tinelos*. In his *Diálogo de las Condiciones de las mujeres* (*Poestas*, Rivadeneira, vol. xxxii, 200) Aletio speaks of

... aquel tiempo que aun era  
viva Isabel de Herrera,  
y Quartal el despensero,  
su querido. . . .

The change made in these lines by Velasco, followed by Fernández, seems to have been inspired by the *Tinellaria*:

Viva la gran lavandera  
y su amigo el despensero  
Muy querido.

<sup>15</sup> The text of the *princeps* is quoted from the original edition.

In the second act the less favored servants assemble in the *tinelo*, speaking their respective jargons and, at a reference to the levying of troops in Spain, all boasting of their respective countries. The *escudero* Moñiz and his *mozo* separate; Moñiz discusses with his colleague Godoy first the fare of the *tinelo*, then the rapid rise of the *maestro de casa*, the ruler of this agitated little world. The *escudero* Osorio joins them, first changing the subject to women, then to a request of his for ecclesiastical preferment which, as he boastingly says, is supported by the Spanish ambassador:

Osorio. Si que ya me a requerido  
con que si quiero vna capa<sup>16</sup>  
y aun si quiero otro partido  
me asentara con el papa

The *suelta* here continues:

Moñiz. *compañero*  
*rengacialde por entero*  
*si un buen Cardenal os diere*  
Osorio. *o con medicis si quiero*<sup>17</sup>  
*quel se es Papa. y quanto quiere [. . .]*  
Moñiz. *qual haria*  
*si yo tal brazo tenia*  
*yo te iuro a dios hermano*  
*no staria mas un dia*  
*con monseñor Egiptiano*  
Osorio. *no digais*  
*que monseñor si mirais*  
*sera Papa sin contrario*  
Godoy. *desse modo no os partais*  
*que aureis un confessorario*<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Probably refers to the *cappa magna*, a non-liturgical vestment peculiar to the pope, cardinals and bishops, but which may also be worn by the chapters of certain important cathedrals.

<sup>17</sup> Probably referring to the same *Monseñor de Medicis* alluded to in the Dedication of the *Tinellaria*, a cousin of Leo X, Giulio, later Pope Clement VII, at that time cardinal and one of the most influential men in the Curia. While his ability and industry have been acknowledged (Rankke, Roscoe) it has been denied that he became the pope's right-hand-man before 1516 or 1517. (Cf. Pastor, *Hist. of the popes*, ed. Kerr, VII (1913), 85, 87.) If that is so we must place the performances of the *Tinellaria* and its publication in 1516.

<sup>18</sup> A parish.



[c] Osorio. *que rason*  
 Godoy. *y no veis pobre uaron*  
*que lo sta llamando dios*  
*y ueis que Papa Leon*  
*biuira mas quel y uos*

In the third act they finally sit down at the common table. Grace is improvised and there develops a table-scene such as for vivacity and naturalness has not been matched on any stage. The fourth act brings the two highest officials of the *tinelo*, the *despensero* and the *maestro de casa* face to face. They quarrel over the division of the spoils. The *maestro de casa* refuses a request of Osorio for the exclusive use of a bedroom, and of Moñiz, a newcomer, for the lodging of his servant. The disgruntled *escuderos* are joined by Godoy who ruefully explains the situation to Moñiz, describing the *tinelo* as follows:

Godoy. *del tintinabulo viene*  
*que quiere dezir campana*  
*y os discierno*  
*ques tinelo suegra y yerno*  
*donde nunca falta engaño*  
*y es semejança de infierno*  
*quaresma de todo el año*  
*se de ciencia*  
*ques vna larga dolencia*  
*para quien mal se gouierna*  
*y un lugar de penitencia*  
*y un traslado de tauerna*  
*y es almenos*  
*do no henchimos los senos*  
*ni tampoco vamos flacos*  
*vn enemigo de buenos*  
*y vn triumpho de vellacos.*

The *suelta* continues here:

[d] *y he notado*  
*ques un pozo de cuydado*  
*laborinto no fingido*  
*tambien es mal deseado*  
*y es un bien no conosciado*

- Moñiz.            *si es ansi  
para seruiros de mi  
por merced que me digais  
que bien y mal tiene en si  
pues bien y mal lo llamais  
es por cierto  
un gran bien con gran concierto  
que hazen los Cardenales  
y en el ay mal descubierto  
que hazen los oficiales*
- Moñiz. (sic)    *o gran mal  
si esso haze el official  
monsennor puede soffrillo?*
- Godoy.           *no lo sabe el cardenal  
y al hombre es mengua dezillo  
y es de uer  
que deuamos entender  
en limpiamente buir  
que un bueno por el comer  
no deue darse a sentir.*

In their common discouragement Moñiz and Godoy become friends and decide to live together, with Moñiz' servant Manchado for both. Manchado was one of that swarm of adventurers who thronged the houses of the princes of the Roman Catholic church, eager to serve even without pay in the hope of eventual preferment, and among whom the Spaniards were noted for their ambition.<sup>19</sup> Manchado is very "green" still (*o que fresco y que temprano!*) and declares:

- Godoy.           *vengo por vn beneficio  
que me de que vista y coma  
bien sera  
pero quien os lo dara  
que trabajos se requieren.*
- Manchado.      *el papa dizque los da  
a todos quantos los quieren*

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Paolo Cortese, *De Cardinalatu*, Rome, 1610, fol. 54.

<sup>20a</sup> The following passage will explain the jest (Rampin is showing the "Lozana Andaluza" the sights of Rome):

"Este es Campo de Flor, aquí es en medio de la cibdad; éstos son charlatanes, sacamuélas y gastapotras, que engañan á los villanos y á los que son nuevamente venidos, que aquí los llaman bisoños." *L.c.*, *Mamotreto* XV. The *Campo de Flor* was also the place where servants looking for work would congregate.

Godoy. con fauor  
 haureis en campo de flor <sup>19a</sup>  
 vn par de canonicatos  
 Manchado. mia fe no vengo señor  
 a buscar canes ni gatos  
 [e] que seruicios?  
 para estar mas a mis uicios  
 ya se yo duna presona  
 que los buenos beneficios  
 se dan en Torre de Nona.<sup>20</sup>

The last act brings back the characters of the first act, about in time for supper. The *canavario* <sup>21</sup> joins them, earning his welcome by a contribution of choice wines. The door is locked. An *arcediano* vainly tries to gain entrance, while his peculiarities are sharply discussed inside. A certain *abad*, his friend, is then taken to task, on account of his manner of dressing and his pride:

Escalco. cierto oy dia  
 ay hombres de fantasia  
 que piensan ser de los godos <sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Although some of these lines were well deleted, the trait of the greenhorn talking about the *beneficios* conferred in the *Torre de Nona* was not bad. The *Torre de Nona* was a prison, much frequented by courtesans (no doubt the kind of *presona* who told Manchado) and where the benefits took the shape of fines. In the *Lozana Andaluza* the *barrachelo* pursuing Rampin cries: "Espera, espera, espafiol, no huyas, tómallo, y lléualo en Torre de Nona." (*L.c.*, *Mamotreto XXXI.*) It was usually referred to in one breath with the Torre Sabela. When the "*vieille courtisanne*" recalls her youth in the lines of Joachim du Bellay (who spent three years in Rome) the Torre de Nona is not forgotten:

"Je ne craignais d'aller sans ma patente,  
 Car j'étais franche et de tribut exempte.  
 Je n'avais peur d'un gouverneur fâcheux,  
 D'un barisiel, ni d'un sbire outrageux,  
 Ni qu'en prison l'on retint ma personne,  
 En court (*sic*) Savelle, ou bien en tour de Nonne . . ."

(*Divers Jeux rustiques et d'autres oeuvres poétiques de Joachim Du Bellay, angevin.* Paris, Frédéric Morel, 1558.)

<sup>21</sup> The *Lozana Andaluza* (*Mamotreto XII*) explains this term as "*bostüller*" (O. French *bouteülier*), i.e., butler, servant in charge of the wine-cellar.

<sup>22</sup> "Para encarecer la presuncion de algun vano," says Covarrubias, "le preguntamos, si deciende de la casta de los godos." The Bachiller de la Pradilla addressed Emperor Charles V as "Sangre escogida de los godos." (*Egloga Real*, 1517, *ap.* Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, Dresden, 1911, p. 229.)

y que esta la hidalguia  
en sentarse sobre todos  
[f] Matia. *yo he sentido*  
*que en toda Roma es tenido*  
*por hombre de mal ceruelo*  
Escalco. *calla ques mas conocido*  
*quel gobo del barrechelo.*<sup>22</sup>

There is more drinking than eating, however, and the party soon degenerates into a drunken brawl, rendered with consummate skill. The play winds up, as usual, with a song, led by Matia, who would point the moral of the entertainment:

veis señores  
de aquestos ay mil traidores  
si quereis poner las mentes  
que gastan vuestros onores  
y vosotros ignocentes  
[g] *destos males*  
*cada dia ay muchos tales*  
*por tanto no es marauilla*  
*que en los males oficiales*  
*esta el mal de la familia*  
*por razon*  
*que la nuestra prouision*  
*es onesta y tal que basta*  
*pero su destribucion*  
*es aquella que la gasta*

In Palau's *Santa Orosia* (ed. Fernández Guerra, ll. 1012-13) it is said of Don Rodrigo:

"el rey viene *de los godos*,  
que es un linaje excelente."

<sup>22</sup> "Better known than the hunchbacked provost." *gobo* = It. *gobbo*. Under *barichelo* we find:—"Voz Italiana que vale tanto como capitan de alguaciles y corchetes, o Alguacil mayor del campo." (*Diccion. de Autoridades*.) In Diego Núñez Alba's *Diálogos de la vida del soldado* (1552) ed. A. M. Fabié, Madrid, 1890, p. 66, Militio says:

"Por Dios que lo conozco que era allá *Barrachel* de campafia." —Cliterio: "Que oficio es ese?" —Militio: "Lo que dezimos en nuestra tierra alguazil del campo." The town-*barichelo's* mission was to execute the governor's orders, capture offenders, witness executions and maintain order in town. In the *Auto de la degollacion de S. Juan* (Rouanet, *Colección de autos*, etc., II, 57) the executioner is addressed as "*Baruquel*."

honrra y vida  
 vos la mande dios complida  
 con renta que satisfaga  
 la tinellaria es fornida  
 valete y buena pro os haga.

Glimpses into a writer's workshop are nearly always interesting, but when the workshop is in the sixteenth century, and the workman Torres Naharro, the opportunity is exceptional. What the alterations made by Naharro imply with regard to his dramatic technique could be properly brought out only by a detailed study of his methods. Yet a few conclusions may readily be drawn. First, it may be significant that all the changes are omissions from the *suelta*, a fact which indicates at least a degree of self-criticism and discipline in a writer often guilty of verbosity. It seems likely that passages such as [a] and [d] have been dropped merely for the sake of conciseness. Cutting down the similes applied to the *timelo* in [d] obviously lightens the dialogue. The dejected sententiousness of Godoy at the end of [d] is out of keeping with the character and sounds a subjective note all too often stressed in the *Propalladia*. A' cumbers the final speech with trite moralization.

In other cases the natural shift of circumstances between the date of the *suelta* and 1517 may have dictated certain changes, as in [b], where the influence of Giulio de Medicis is referred to. For [c] either the changed state of health of Leo X or of Giulio or perhaps a belated sense of delicacy may be presupposed. The passage [e] where Manchado shows his simplicity might have been fitly retained, but the line:

"para estar mas a mis uicios"

sounds too cynical for him, and so, we may surmise, lest the metrical structure be destroyed, the whole quintilla had to be sacrificed. The reference to the *abad*, friend of the *arcediano* [f], seems to be an attack on a personal enemy, one of the "*Mordaces*" mentioned by the author in the dedication, perhaps the one whom he threatened more specifically: "quiza le senalare la herradura en la frente." Circumstances, here again, may have modified Naharro's attitude.

The reasons for the changes made in the original version may then be summed up as follows, in the order of their importance: changing circumstances [*b, c, f*]; desire to avoid prolixity and unnecessary moralizing [*a, d, g*]; the needs of consistency [*d, e*]. With one exception [*e*] which may be partly attributed to metrical compulsion, all the changes may be considered improvements.

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## JEALOUSY AS A DRAMATIC MOTIVE IN THE SPANISH 'COMEDIA'

**A**MONG the passions portrayed by Spanish dramatic writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the fury of jealousy is conspicuous. It is a theme which, being closely related to the 'pun-donor,' reflects the national temper of the Spaniard. "Jealous as a Spaniard" is a proverbial simile that finds ample justification in the 'comedia.'

"It is indeed a received maxim in their country as well as in their theatre," complains Lord Holland,<sup>1</sup> "that love cannot exist without jealousy." "Donde hay amor hay celos" declares Doña Hipólita in Guillén de Castro's *La Fuerza de la Costumbre*.<sup>2</sup> "Quien bien quiere, celos tiene" is a similar sentiment recognized on the early stage. In Lope de Vega's *La Dama Boba*, verse 1818, Otabio declares

que mientras ay amor ha de haber celos  
pensión que dieron a este bien los celos.

Rojas Zorrilla, in *Donde hay agravios hay celos*, Act III, scene xiv, asserts

. . . en el amor | hallan propiedad los celos.

In Act II, scene ii, of the same play, D. Juan says to Doña Inés:

Que para decir mi amor  
Os digo que tengo celos.

In Calderón's *El mayor monstruo los celos* we have a noteworthy example of the struggle between love and jealousy. "*Son triunfo de amor los celos*" is a typical title of a play by Agosta y Faria. Tirso de Molina in his *Vergonzoso en palacio* says:

Ya han esmaltado los celos  
El oro de amor con celos (vv. 970-'71).

<sup>1</sup> H. R. Lord Holland, *Some Account of the Lives and Writings of Lope de Vega Carpio and Guillén de Castro*, London, 1817.

<sup>2</sup> *Colección de Autores Españoles*, Rivadeneyra, editor, Madrid, 1881, vol. xliii, p. 365.

Just as jealousy is a concomitant of love, so jealousy often precedes and produces love. In Lope's *La Dama Boba* the power of jealousy makes a simpleton wise and clever and enamored. In his *Peribáñez y el Comendador de Ocuña*, Act II, scene v, Casilda warns

Que los desuelos son puertas  
Para que pasen los celos  
Desde el amor al temor;  
Y, en comenzando a temer,  
No hay más dormir que poner  
Con celos remedio a amor.

In Mira de Mesquita's *Esclavo del Demonio*, Leonor, talking to Beatriz, says, el amor de los hombres | resulta de celos y cuydados (v. 2213). Tirso de Molina says:

Y sé que dándome celos  
La he de volver a adorar.

Jealousy destroys love. In *Las Burlas veras* Lope exclaims (p. 29, Rosenberg edition):

¡Quántos amores por zelos se han acabado!

Guillén de Castro, in *La tragedia por los celos*, makes Godín express the opinion that

Los amorosos desuelos  
siempre para ser valientes  
son hijos intercedentes  
de la embidia y de los zelos (vv. 1049-1052).

Jealousy is often a stronger passion than love. "*Más pueden celos que amor*" is the title of one of Lope's comedias. A similar opinion is expressed by the Marqués de Oserra in a play of the same name.

That love and jealousy are not inseparable is expressed in the title of Maestro Cabeza's play entitled *Tambien hay sin amor celos*. Monroy goes even a step further by declaring that "No hay amor donde hay celos." It is true that jealousy exists where there is no affection, and is linked with the 'point of honor.' Situations involving the 'pundonor' almost invariably include some form of



jealousy. In Guillén de Castro's *Ingratitud por amor* (vv. 2040-2044) Artemisa says to the Duquesa:

Porque entretanto cuide  
de tu honor y mis celos,  
es bien que se junten  
las dos obligaciones  
y las dos pesadumbres.

\* \* \* \* \*

Its close association with love and the 'pundonor' is not the chief reason, however, for the oft recurring use of the passion of jealousy by the Spanish dramatists. "They seem to regard jealousy as sufficient to explain any absurdity and warrant any outrage."<sup>8</sup> 'All is fair in love and jealousy' is their version of the well-known proverb. The title of one of Arborea's plays is "*Engaños hay que son justos en lides de amor y celos*." "No hay agravios como celos si son los celos ofensa," is the opinion of Don Fernando de Frías y Santos. In Castro's *La tragedia por los celos* the jealous queen, after murdering her rival in cold blood, tells the king:

Señor, no vengo a tus pies  
a que mis culpas perdones  
sino a que en mis zelos veas  
que son las culpas menores (vv. 2528-2531).

In *Donde hay agravios no hay celos*, by Rojas, D. Juan says to Sancho:

¿Dí, qué ofensa puede ser,  
Que a la de celos se iguale?

and Sancho replies: La del honor.—Dices bien, agrees D. Juan.

The public made due allowance for outrages committed in fits of jealousy, just as it tolerated and forgave crimes of vengeance for offended honor. It is true even at the present time and also in this country that jealousy nearly always is regarded as detracting from the criminality of the deeds which it prompts. Juries pardon no other kind of manslaughter more readily than the murders prompted by jealousy. Thus the very administration of justice seems to be motivated in part by jealousy.

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>8</sup> H. R. Lord Holland, *op. cit.*

Various explanations have been offered for this exaltation of the mad jealousy and extreme susceptibility of Spanish honor. It is argued that this trait was communicated to the Spaniards by the Arabs. The Oriental woman was guarded by a jealous husband. Indulging only emotions of love and jealousy in their harems they seem in every other environment to forget the existence of the gentle sex. Therefore, according to Lewes,<sup>4</sup> the custom of keeping the Spanish woman secluded from men's society was not the result of this influence. L. de Viel-Castel<sup>5</sup> also ridicules the 'jealousy' theory of enforced seclusion, on the ground that the manners of the Spaniards are entirely opposed to those of the Arabs; the Spaniard's whole life is consecrated to gallantry.

Ticknor<sup>6</sup> and J. L. Munárriz<sup>7</sup> ascribe the Spanish seclusion of women to Gothic influence. Everything relating to domestic honor was consigned by Gothic law to domestic authority. With the possession of this prerogative every individual, particularly the male members of the family, was keenly on guard for offended honor in his immediate circle. This suspicious guardianship easily provoked and intensified the natural instinct of jealousy which, according to psychologists, is present in all mankind.

Stuart<sup>8</sup> argues that the treatment of jealousy by Spanish writers was not necessarily a true reflection of an actual trait characteristic of Spaniards of their day, but was more probably a dramatic motive borrowed from the Italian novelists and playwrights, from whom the Spanish dramatists drew so much of their inspiration.

Américo Castro,<sup>9</sup> Schack,<sup>10</sup> Escosura,<sup>11</sup> Marchena<sup>12</sup> and Fitzmaurice-Kelly<sup>13</sup> maintain that jealousy was a trait of the national character of Spain during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, but was not limited to Spain. It was a universal trait at

<sup>4</sup> *Spanish Drama*, London, 1846.

<sup>5</sup> *Revue des deux mondes*, vol. xxv, 1841, pp. 397-421.

<sup>6</sup> Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, 1849, vol. ii, p. 363.

<sup>7</sup> *Lecciones sobre la retórica*, Madrid, 1817, iv, p. 307.

<sup>8</sup> *ROMANIC REVIEW*, vol. i, 1910.

<sup>9</sup> *Revista de filología española*, tomo iii, 1915.

<sup>10</sup> A. F. Schack, *Gesch. der dram. Litt. und Kunst in Spanien*, 1854, pp. 156-7.

<sup>11</sup> *Revista de España*, 1869, vi, pp. 171-210.

<sup>12</sup> *Hist. lit. esp.* (Span. trans.), 1847, ii, 200.

<sup>13</sup> Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Hist. of Span. Lit.*, p. 325.

that period, and may be explained as a perverted outcome of chivalresque ideals.

\* \* \*

It is interesting to note the effect of jealousy upon the individual suffering from it. In Calderón's *El médico de su honra*, the husband is asked what he has seen, and he replies :

Nada. Que hombres como yo  
no ven : basta que imaginen ;  
que sospechen, que prevengan,  
que recelen, que adivinen . . .

Arez de la Mota entitles one of his plays "*Duelos y celos hacen los hombres necios*." It is an animal passion, easily aroused, and incompatible with reason. "No hay prudencia cuando hay celos." Calderón's characterization of jealousy is summed up in the titles of two of his many plays dealing with this passion, namely, *Los celos, aun del aire matan* and *El mayor monstruo los celos*.

The symptoms associated with jealousy are best described by Rojas Zorrilla in *Donde hay agravios no hay celos*, Act III, scene i :

Da. Inés : Mas ni me admiro, ni espanto,  
Que celos hayas tenido.

Da. Ana : ¿De qué lo has colegido?

Da. Inés : De tu voz, y de tu llanto :  
Porque en la amorosa calma  
De sospechas y recelos  
Son el amor y los celos  
Las calenturas del alma  
Que salen por dar despojos,  
Reducidos en agravios,  
Las de celos a los labios  
Y las de amor a los ojos ;  
.....  
Los celos buscan la voz  
Y el amor elige el llanto.

Other characterizations are :

No hay flema donde hay celos—p. 36, *La fuerza de la costumbre*—  
Castro.

¡Zelos traydores! (v. 2569), *Tragedia por los celos*, Castro.

¡Zelos piadosos! (v. 2570), *Tragedia por los celos*, Castro.

. . . que tus celos | infames como alevosos, Act II, scene vi, *Mayor monstruo los celos*, Calderón.

Muerto de agravios y celos | que matan, Act II, scene v, *Mayor monstruo los celos*, Calderón.

Celos volemós allá | pues tenéis alas de fuego, vv. 974-975, Tirso de Molin<sup>o</sup>, *El vergonzoso en palacio*.

Pues esta fortuna sigo | celos, sufrir y callar, Act I, scene xii, Rojas, *Donde hay agravios no hay celos*.

Quiero sufrir y callar | a, ingrata, de celos muero, vv. 1831-2, Mescua, *Esclavo del demonio*.

Perdona, que amor y celos | hacen errar la lengua, 3204-5, Mescua, EDD.

La inuidia me inhumana, v. 1274, Mescua, EDD.

Dichoso tú que | desdén y celos ignoras, v. 353, Mescua, EDD.

But it is not only limited to the torture of mind and agony of the heart evidenced by facial manifestations. Blood must be shed. Revenge must be taken, if immediate satisfaction be not offered, or the reparation of a wrong be impossible. *No hay con los celos más medio que vengarlos o no tenerlos*.<sup>14</sup> Revenge is exercised for the same general reason that we desire restitution when we crave forgiveness on the one hand or exact apology on the other. Psychologists class it as a natural impulse of the normal man and woman, reflecting the tender as well as the aggressive sources. But with the Spaniards of the early *comedias* it is a disease, a passion of violence merging with revenge carried to excess. "*No hay valor contra los celos*" is a theory worked out with consistency. In Castro's *La tragedia por los celos*, v. 1567, the queen exclaims: Mis celos mortales son. In v. 2331 of the same play she remarks: Donde hay celos no hay piedad. In Calderón's *El mayor monstruo los celos*, Act III, scene viii, El Tetrarca declares:

Siendo monstruo sin segundo  
Esta rabia, esta pasión  
De celos, que celos son  
El mayor monstruo del mundo.

<sup>14</sup> An anonymous *sarsuela* in the Library of Osuna.

Jealousy was not confined to the female sex. The phrase "a jealous man" is much more frequently used by the Spaniards than "a jealous woman." Shakespeare and Molière also regarded men the more jealous sex, and their jealous characters are men as a rule. In Molière we have Don Garcie de Navarre and Sganarelle, and Shakespeare's jealous heroes are Othello, Leontes, Master, and Ford. Jealousy in a woman is taken for granted:

Soy zelosa, muger, soy, v. 1514, Lope, *Las burlas veras* (Rosenberg).

Son traydores | los zelos, y soy mujer, v. 987, Castro, *Traged. por los Celos*.

In woman jealousy is more strongly felt and exhibited than in man. "*En mujeres hay venganza; y en su venganza castigo*" is the title of an anonymous comedia. In Mira de Mescua's *Esclavo del Demonio*, vv. 1234-8, D. Gil remarks:

Hecho será que me asombre,  
que a la muger nadie iguala  
en zelo y piadoso nombre,  
pero quando da en ser mala  
es peor que el más mal hombre.

\* \* \* \* \*

Jealousy as a theme in Spanish dramatic literature may be traced as far back as 1499, the date of *La Celestina*. We next meet it in the *Iminea* of Torres Naharro's *Propaladia*, published in 1517. Torres Naharro, incidentally, was the first Spanish dramatist to introduce the pundonor on the stage. About sixty years later it was treated by Juan de la Cueva in *El Infamador*. All the dramatists of the Siglo de Oro employ it generously. Calderón paints the terrible fury of jealousy with a grandeur which is unparalleled. Four of the most striking among Calderón's tragedies of jealousy are:

*El pintor de su deshonra*  
*El médico de su honra*  
*A secreto agravio secreta venganza* and  
*El mayor monstruo los celos*.

In each of these terrible plays a wife guilty, or presumed so, suffers death at her husband's hands. The murderer is prompted by jealousy or wounded pride. In the opinion of Ticknor,<sup>15</sup> *El mayor monstruo los celos* is the finest specimen of the effects of mere jealousy

and of the power with which Calderón could bring on the stage its terrible workings. It is the well-known story of the cruel jealousy of Herodes, Tetrarca de Galilea, who kills his wife Marienne because Octavius is in love with her. Jealousy figures also in other plays by Calderón, as, for example, in *La vida es sueño*, Act I, scene vi, when Estrella becomes jealous of Rosaura's portrait in Astolfo's possession; and in the *Alcalde de Zalamea*, when D. Mendo discovers the Captain serenading Isabel; and in *El mágico prodigioso*, when Floro and Lelio see the devil leaving Justina's room; but these situations are inconsequential to the main plot.

Second to Calderón in the use of jealousy as dramatic material is Guillén de Castro. In his *La tragedia por los celos* a queen murders her rival in cold blood, in a fit of jealousy. In his *Mocedades del Cid* there is the jealousy of the courtesans against Rodrigo. In *Los mal casados de Valencia* and in *La fuerza de la costumbre* Hipólita's jealousy is important to the dénouement. In *Ingratitud por amor* and in *El amor constante* there is the struggle between jealousy of the king and respect for the king's person.

\* \* \* \* \*

In order to ascertain, as an item not devoid of significance, the extent to which the words *celos*, *celoso*, and *celosa* are used by early Spanish dramatists, I have tabulated the numerical occurrence of these words as they appear in ten plays selected at random. The results are as follows:

	Celos	Celoso	Celosa	Total
El Mayor Monstruo los Celos (Calderón).....	16	1	1	18
El Mágico Prodigioso (Calderón).....	20	3	0	23
La Vida Es Sueño (Calderón).....	3	0	0	3
Ingratitud por amor (Castro).....	7	1	6	14
La tragedia por los celos (Castro).....	25	1	2	28
La Dama Boba (Lope de Vega).....	11	0	2	13
Peribáñez y el Comendador de Ocaña (Lope)....	9	2	0	11
Donde hay agravios no hay celos (Rojas).....	37	1	0	38
El Burlador de Sevilla (Tirso de Molina).....	8	0	1	9
El Vergonzoso en Palacio (Tirso de Molina)....	20	1	0	21
Totals.....	156	10	12	178

A large number of Spanish plays have the words *celos*, *celoso*, and *celosa* in their titles. This is not necessarily an indication that jealousy is the subject of the main theme of the play concerned, nor is its absence from a title evidence to the contrary.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 344.

However, it is interesting to find eighty such plays listed in Barrera's *Catálogo Bibliográfico y Biográfico del Teatro Antiguo Español*, Madrid, 1860.

Titles of plays containing the words *celos*, *celoso*, or *celosa*, selected from Barrera's *Catálogo*:

A averiguadas celos no hay prudencia.....	Anonymous
A lo que obligan los celos.....	Enriquez Gopez
Amor y celos sin dama, o el Domine de Alcaba....	Anonymous
Amor y celos hacen discretos.....	Tirso de Molina
Amor, enganoz y celos.....	Don Manuel Botello de Oliveyra
Amor secreto hasta celos.....	Lope
Amor vencido de celos.....	Arborea
Arminda celosa.....	Lope
Casa de los celos y selvas de Ardenia.....	Cervantes
Casamiento con celos, y rey don Pedro de Aragon..	Bartolome de Enciso
Celos Abren los cielos.....	Dona Isabel Senorina de Silva
Celos, amor y venganza (No hay mal que por bien no venga).....	Luis Velez de Cueva
Celos, aun del aire, matan.....	Calderon
Celos, aun imaginados, conducen al precipicio y magico.....	Diego Triana
Celos contra los celos.....	Fernandez Bustamante
Celos de Carrizales.....	Antonio Coello
Celos de Rodamonte.....	Lope
Celos de Rodamonte.....	Bojas Zorrilla
Celos de San Jose.....	Monroy
Los Celos en el Caballo.....	Zinienez de Enciso
Celos hacen estrellas, o el amor hace prodigios....	Luis Velez de Cueva
Celos hasta los cielos, y desdichada Estefania....	Luis Velez de Cueva
Celos, honor y cordura.....	Don Antonio Coello
Los celos hasta los cielos.....	Vilez de Guevara
Celosa de si misma.....	Padre Tellez
Celosa de su honra.....	Anonymous
Celos avara.....	Bago
Alos, industria y amor (Todo es industrias amor) .	Monroy
Celos no ofenden al sol.....	Enriquez Gomez
Celoso.....	Antonio Farreira
Celoso (El) o la Cena, Milan, 1602.....	Velaz guez de Velasco
Celoso Extremeno.....	Don Antonio Coello
Celoso Prudente.....	Tirso de Molina
Celoso y desesperado.....	Vicente Suarez de Deza
Celos y empenos de amor, o los Amantes celosos..	Anonymous
Celos satisfechos—Inedita?.....	Lope
Celos sin ocasion—Inedita?.....	Lope
Celos sin saber de quien.....	Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza
Celos son bien y ventura.....	Luis Velez de Guevara

Celos son bien y ventura (San Albano).....	Godínez
Celos son bien y ventura.....	Cervero
Celos vencidos de amor, y de amor el mayor truíno. Don Marcos de Lanuzi	
Como se curan los celos, y Orlando furioso—Zar-	
zuela con loa.....	Candamo
Como se enganan los celos—Don Manuel.....	Daniel Delgado
Con celos no hay amistad—Inedita.....	Acuna de Mendoza
Con celos no hay majestad, y cruellad con su	
Amante—Manoscrita.....	Anaya y Espinosa
Darse celos por vengarse.....	Doctor don Cristobal Lagano
El desengano en alos.....	Jacinto Cordero
Donde hay agravios no hay celos (El Amo criado). Rojas Zorrilla	
Dudoso en la venganza (Las Canas en el papel)...	Don Guillem de Castro
Duelos y celos hacen los hombres necios—Inedita..	Arez de la Mota
Enamorados celosos.....	Anonymous
Encanto por los celos, y fuente de la Judia.....	Monroy
Engano de unos celos.....	Montero de Espinosa
Esclavos de amor y celos.....	Don Vicente Eximenez y Doris
Guerras de celos y amor.....	Don Matias de Ayala
Haller la muerte en sus celos.....	Pardo de la Casta
Hechizo de amor los celos—Inedita.....	Conto Pestana
Infante de Aragon.....	Claramonte
Jacintos, (Los), y celoso de si mismo o la pastoral	
de Jacinto, y selva de Albania.....	Lope
Lances de amor, desden y celos.....	Frumento
Lena (La) o el Celoso—Milan, 1602.....	Velazquez de Velasco
Lo que pueden amor y celos.....	Un ingenio (p. 24)
Mayo encanto celos.....	Anaya y Espinosa
El Mayor Monstrue Los Zelos.....	Calderon
No hay amor donde hay celos.....	Monroy
No siempre ofenden los celos.....	Augulo y Carcano
No son los recelos celos.....	Gaspar de Aguilar
Pastoral de los celos. Inedita.....	Lope
Que mas castigo que Celos? Inedita Senor Duran	
Segunda cuarta part del siglo XVIII.....	Anonymous
Quien bien quiere celos tiene.....	Anonymous
Renegado por celos. Inedita.....	D. Diego Duque de Estrada
Selva de Amor y celos.....	Francisco Rops
Tambien hay piedad con celos bajo el nombre ana-	
gramatico de don Garcia Azner Velez.....	D. Andres Gonzalez de Barcia
Tambien hay piedad sin celos.....	Luis Velez de Guevara
Tambien hay sin amor celos.....	Maestro Cabeza
Tambien sin envidia hay celos.....	D. Baltasar de Funes
	Villalpando
Tener de si mismo celos.....	Marti
Tirso's El Celoso Prudente copied by Calderón in	
his A secreto agravio secreta venganza.....	
Triunfo y error de los celos y el amor.....	Zarzuela, Madrid, 1726, 80

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## SOME OF THE LATIN SOURCES OF *YVAIN*

**I**N spite of the diversity and number of studies on the sources of Chrétien de Troyes's *Yvain*, we are still in the greatest perplexity in regard to this subject. So far are scholars from any agreement that Maurice Wilmotte<sup>1</sup> recently favored the old, discarded theory of the *Widow of Ephesus* as the source of the kernel of *Yvain*, a theory long cherished by Foerster,<sup>2</sup> strongly combatted by Professor A. C. L. Brown,<sup>3</sup> and finally given up by Foerster in favor of the view of Hilka,<sup>4</sup> Van Hamel,<sup>5</sup> and Voretzsch<sup>6</sup> that Chrétien was influenced at this point by the *Roman de Thèbes*. Foerster maintained that the whole episode of Laudine's marriage with Yvain was based on the incident of Jocaste's marriage with the slayer of her former husband.<sup>7</sup>

The inadequacy of this theory was pointed out by Zenker,<sup>8</sup> who believes that the opposite is true; namely, that a hypothetical version of the *Yvain* earlier than that of Chrétien is the source of the Jocaste episode in *Thèbes*.

Foerster suggests as the main source of *Yvain* a tale of the rescuing of a maiden from a giant; but he denies that there is any trace of Celtic influence on the main episode,<sup>9</sup>—viz., that dealing with the relations of Laudine and Yvain—and admits only slight Celtic influence (manifested merely as extraneous additions) on any part of the story. Professor Brown, however, whose articles are ranged at the opposite pole in this discussion, suggests for almost

<sup>1</sup> *Romania* xlv (1920), 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Der Löwenritter*, Halle, 1887, xxii-xxiv.

<sup>3</sup> "Iwain, A Study in the Origins of Arthurian Romance," *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Boston, 1903.

<sup>4</sup> Alfons Hilka, *Die direkte Rede als stilistisches Kunstmittel in den Romanen des Kristian von Troyes*, 1903, 128, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> "Jocaste-Laudine," *Rom. Forsch.*, xxiii (1907), 911 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Einführung in das Studium der altfr. Litteratur*<sup>2</sup>, 1913, 321.

<sup>7</sup> Wendelin Foerster, *Kristian von Troyes, Wörterbuch*, Halle, 1914, 107.

<sup>8</sup> Rudolf Zenker, "Weiteres zur Mabinogionfrage," *ZfSL* xli (1913), 147. Professor Sheldon objects to the Jocaste episode as a source for Chrétien's *Yvain* on account of the *motif* of incest (*ROM. REV.*, xii, 305).

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, 106 ff., where his earlier discussions are indicated.

every incident of Chrétien's romance a parallel in a Celtic fairy-mistress story of the type of the *Serglige Conchulaind* (Sick-Bed of Cuchulinn).<sup>10</sup>

The present status of the problem evidently leaves room for considerable further discussion.

The object of this study is to present certain striking parallels between the main themes of Chrétien's romance and some passages in the works of Ovid and Virgil. This comparison will at least indicate the possibility that Chrétien used his knowledge of the Latin classics to aid him in shaping and adapting whatever Celtic or other material he may have chosen to use in constructing the romance of *Yvain*.

It is becoming more and more clear, as the study of mediaeval French romance progresses, that at the origin of even those poems known as Arthurian romances there was effected an amalgamation

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*; also "The Knight of the Lion," *PMLA* xx (1905), 673 ff.; "Chrétien's *Yvain*," *Mod. Phil.*, IX (1911-12), 109 ff.; and "On the Independent Character of the Welsh Owain," *Rom. Rev.* iii (1912), 143 ff.

Many other suggestions have been made in regard to the source of *Yvain*, among which is that of Christian Rauch (*Die walsche, fransoesische und deutsche Bearbeitung der Iweinsage*, Berlin, 1869), who regarded the story as originally Celtic, although he considered Chrétien's version independent of the Welsh *Owein* and *Lunet*. Heinrich Goossens (*Ueber Sage, Quelle und Komposition des Chevalier du lyon des Crestien de Troyes*, Diss., Paderborn, 1883) believes that Chrétien's poem was based on an oral tale recounted by Celtic story-tellers at French courts. Gaston Paris (*Romania*, 1888, 334-5) considered Laudine a fairy and compared the main theme of *Yvain* to that of *Guingamor*, etc., in which the husband of a fairy departs with the intention of returning, but forgets a promise and so is not allowed to return. Axel Ahlstrom ("Sur l'origine du Chevalier au lion," *Mélanges de philologie romane dédiés à C. Wahlund*, Macon, 1896) believes that Laudine was a swan-lady. Baist, "Die Quellen des *Yvain*," *ZrP* xxi (1897), 402-5, preferred to call her a "Wasserfrau." W. A. Nitze, "A New Source of the *Yvain*," *Mod. Phil.*, iii (1905-6), 267 ff., and "The Fountain Defended," *Mod. Phil.*, IX (1911-12), 109 ff., connects the main episode of this romance with a possible folk-story embodying the theme of the Arician Diana myth, which he believes was known in the Poitou region. This tale, according to Professor Nitze, may have been amalgamated with a Celtic story in Chrétien's immediate source. Franz Settegast (*ZrP*, XXXII, 416 ff.; *Die Antiken Elemente im altfranzösischen Gedichten*, Leipzig, 1907, 60 ff.; *Das Polyphemmärchen in altfr. Gedichten*, Leipzig, 1917, 62 ff.) suggests historical, Byzantine sources, also the Cybele-Attis and Polyphemus legends. Rudolf Zenker (*Forschungen zur Artusepik I*, Ivainstudien, Halle, 1921) claims that Chrétien's romance represents the fifth stage of a story originally of the Irish Cuchulinn cycle.

of Classical themes with Celtic material.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, the great reputation of Chrétien among his contemporaries and followers inclines the writer to look upon that French poet as the author who made the distinctive combinations represented by his romances, whatever may have been the immediate or ultimate sources of his material. The small variations in details that have been noted between Chrétien's poems and other versions of the same stories do not seem to offer convincing evidence that Chrétien's romances as literary entities go back to sources common to them and to the tales of other authors. Such variations, however, may point to common sources for certain episodes to be found in Chrétien's poems and in the works of others.

In attempting to justify the claim that Classical sources contributed a part of Chrétien's literary inspiration one should be guided by three considerations: (1) the development of literary history in general at the time, (2) the statements—if there are any—of the author himself, and (3) internal evidence such as the nature, content, and language of the romance in question.

Chrétien de Troyes wrote in the third quarter of the twelfth century. His literary activity especially marks the moment of an unusual advance in the literature of the vernacular:

"Avec le roman, on entre dans une voie d'observation psychologique qui, à peine dessinée chez la foule des auteurs médiocres, devient presque une virtuosité chez Benoit, chez Gautier d'Arras, et chez Chrétien de Troyes. Sa technique, sa rhétorique, son vers, ses développements d'ordre psychologique, un instinct déjà sûr de la vie intérieure, bref tout ce qui le fait lui-même à nos yeux, ce n'est pas à l'épopée qu'il le doit."<sup>12</sup>

This remarkable achievement of French writers at the middle of the twelfth century is no doubt due in part to improved social conditions in the North of France. In this advance, Provençal influences were, certainly, a factor. The great impetus afforded to literature and learning in general at this time, however, is due to the

<sup>11</sup> The present study leaves aside any consideration of the extent or importance of the Celtic material used in the romance of *Yvain*.

<sup>12</sup> Maurice Wilmette, "L'Evolution du roman français aux environs de 1150," *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 1903.

Classical Renaissance that was at its greatest height in this century.<sup>13</sup>

Evidence of intimate acquaintance with the Classics is furnished in abundance by those who wrote in Latin during this period. Guibert de Nogent, who lived in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, makes, in his history of the first crusade, the following very interesting observation:<sup>14</sup> "Et villas video, urbes, ac oppida studiis fervere grammaticae." In another place he states that during his lifetime and under his own observation there has grown up in France a remarkable interest in grammar, which is here taken in the sense of the "art of explaining poets and historians, the art of correct speaking and writing."<sup>15</sup> The fame of Classical studies at Chartres in Guibert's day and later at Orléans, the greatest center of Latin learning after 1150, drew students even from England.<sup>16</sup> The fame of the study of Classical authors at Orléans is also attested in numerous other places. For example, Paetow<sup>17</sup> cites Geoffrey de Vinsauf:

In morbis sanat medici virtute Salernum

. . . . .

Aurelianus

Educat in cunis auctorum lacte tenellos

and Helinand, in a sermon before the students of the university of Toulouse in 1229: "Ecce quaerunt clerici Parisiis artes liberales, Aurelianus auctores . . ."; also Mathew of Vendôme:

"Pararisius logicam sibi iactitet, Aurelianus  
Auctores: elegos Vindocinense solum."

<sup>13</sup> Cf. L. J. Paetow, "The Arts Course at Medieval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric," *The University Studies*, University of Illinois, iii (Jan. 1910), 7, II; Edmond Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois*, Paris, 1913, 398 ff.; and H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*<sup>2</sup>, London, 1914, 143.

<sup>14</sup> "Gesta Dei per Francos" in *Recueil des Historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, iv, 118; cited by Paetow, *op. cit.*, 12.

<sup>15</sup> This is the definition of Rabanus Maurus. Cf. F. A. Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1885, 86.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Paetow, *op. cit.*, 92. On Chartres see Abbé A. Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au moyen-âge*, Paris, 1895. On Orléans see L. V. Delisle, "Les écoles d'Orléans," *Annuaire Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, viii (1869), 139-54.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, 14.

The pages of such Latin writers as John of Salisbury and Pierre de Blois are filled with quotations from the Latin Classics. The attitude of these scholars is shown by John of Salisbury's assertion: "otium sine litteris mors est, et vivi hominis sepultra,"<sup>18</sup> and by Pierre de Blois's answer to the *cornificii* who blamed him for his imitation of profane writers: "Quidquid canes oblatrent, quidquid grunniunt sues, ego semper aemulabor scripta veterum: in his erit occupatio mea."<sup>19</sup> The most famous passage of this nature is that attributed by John of Salisbury to Bernard of Chartres:

"Dicebat Bernardus Carnotensis nos esse quasi nanos, gigantium humeris incidentes, ut possimus plura eis et remotiora videre, non utique proprii visus acumine, aut eminentia corporis, sed quia in altum subvehimur et extollimur magnitudine gigantes."<sup>20</sup>

The realization of the literary importance of the enthusiastic revival of the Latin Classics during the twelfth century leads one to look to those Classics for possible sources of literary inspiration. The appearance of such romances as *Thèbes*, *Enéas*, and *Troie* about the middle of the twelfth century tends to confirm the student in this attitude of mind, since the mediaeval French romances of the group dealing with the *matière de Rome* are based directly on Latin models. It has already been asserted by Edmond Faral<sup>21</sup> that all the romances of the period with which we are dealing belong to one *genre*, which began as a slight surface eddy in the vernacular corresponding to a deep and strong current in Latin literature of the same period. According to Faral, with whom his erudite reviewer is in

<sup>18</sup> Migne, *Pat. lat.*, cxcix, 388; copied from Seneca, *Epistolae*, lxxxii, 3.

<sup>19</sup> "Epistolae," 92, Migne, *Pat. lat.*, ccvii, 290.

<sup>20</sup> Migne, *Pat. lat.*, cxcix, 900.

The importance of the Classics in French civilization of this time can be ascertained by means of a great number of remarkable studies. A few among this great store are: Manitius, "Geschichte der lat. lit. des Mittelalters" in Iwan von Müller, *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, xi, 1911; J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship from the sixth Century B.C. to the end of the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1903-8; for Virgil: Domenico Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages* translated by E. F. M. Benecke, London, 1895; for Ovid: Léopold Sudre, *Ovidii Metamorphoseon libros quomodo nostrates mediæ ævi poetae imitati interpretatique sint*, Diss., Paris, 1893; Gaston Paris, "Chrétien Legouais et autres traducteurs ou imitateurs d'Ovide," *Hist. Litt.*, xxix, 455 ff.; and Edmond Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois*, Paris, 1913.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, Avant-propos and 391 ff.

complete accord,<sup>22</sup> the romances are not the fruit of spontaneous inspiration nor of the imagination of ignorant story-tellers; but, rather, of a literary tradition reaching back into Classical antiquity. The imitation of Ovid furnished, in his opinion, the main elements in the formation of the romances—even of the Arthurian romance.

It must be added that shortly before the middle of the twelfth century Geoffrey of Monmouth made of the legendary Arthur, who was a Celtic hero, a literary personage, the fame of whose imaginary court spread over the civilized European world. In Geoffrey's *Historia regum Britanniae*<sup>23</sup> is to be found the name of our hero, Yvain, there appearing as Eventus, son of Urian. Geoffrey's work was several times translated. The most important of the French translations of this work is that of Wace.<sup>24</sup> Wace tells us that many stories concerning Arthur were told in his time and known to him.<sup>25</sup>

In the work of Geoffrey, in that of Wace, or in the stories about Arthur mentioned by Wace, we might expect to find the source of *Yvain* or some elements of inspiration for that romance. As a matter of fact, from Geoffrey, directly or indirectly, came not only the name of the hero but also the Arthurian setting,<sup>26</sup> and perhaps the episode of Harpin of the Mountain.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Maurice Wilmotte, *Romania*, xliii (1914), 107 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Ed. by San Marte, Halle, 1854, xi, 1.

<sup>24</sup> Ed. by Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen, 1836-8.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, 10038 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Annette B. Hopkins, *The Influence of Wace on the Arthurian Romances of Crestien de Troyes*, Menasha, Wis., 1913.

<sup>27</sup> Franz Settegast (*Das Polyphemmärchen in altfr. Gedichten. Eine folkloristisch-literargeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Leipzig, 1917) connects this episode (pp. 62 ff.) with the Polyphemus legend. However sound the conclusions of Professor Settegast may be, it seems likely that the immediate suggestion for the Harpin episode came to Chrétien from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* (x, 3). Although Chrétien's story has every appearance of being mainly original, it seems to be an application of an adventure formerly told of Arthur to one of his knights. In both cases we have a giant living on a mountain, who pursues the niece of an Arthurian hero who is defeated by an Arthurian hero, and whose fall is described by means of the same Classical simile (*Yvain*, 385a ff.). An interesting point in this connection is Chrétien's objection to Geoffrey of Monmouth's idea that a hero should keep his deeds secret ("Precepit (Arthur) in-tuentibus fieri silentium"), for Yvain says to the lord of the castle:

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Qu'il voloit que si quatre fil  
Et sa fille praignent le nain,  
S'aillent a mon seignor Gauvain,  
Quant il s'avront qu'il iert venuz,  
Et comant il s'est contenuz  
Viaut que il soit dit et conté.  
Car por neant fet la bonté,  
Qui ne viaut qu'ele soit seüe.

The fountain is supposed by some scholars to have been taken from Wace's *Rou*.<sup>28</sup>

From a general consideration of the period in which Chrétien lived it is apparent that although literary influences were coming into the north of France from the Orient, from Provence, and from Celtic territory, yet the chief interest of writers of the twelfth century Renaissance was in the Classical literary tradition.

Turning to Chrétien himself for guidance we are immediately directed to the source of his main literary inspiration, the Latin Classics, and his words cannot fail to convince us that he was one of the great leaders in the Renaissance. He tells us that Knighthood and the sum of Learning came from Greece to Rome, and that it has been passed on from Rome to France, where it is now to be found. This statement can only mean that insofar as learning and literature are concerned—for they are really one in Chrétien's mind—France owes her culture, in the opinion of our poet, to Rome:

*Cligès*, 33    Puis vint chevalerie a Rome  
                   Et de la clergie la some,  
                   Qui ore est an France venue.

Chrétien rated his own work with that of the greatest authors of Greece and Rome; and knew no literature of worth except that of Classical Latin times—and by report that of the ancient Greeks—other than the literature of France in his own time:

*Cligès*, 36    Des doint qu'ele i soit retenue  
                   Et que li leus li abelisse  
                   Tant que ja mes de France n'isse  
                   L'enors qui s'i est arestee.  
                   Des l'avoit as autres prestee,  
                   Mes des Grezois ne des Romains  
                   Ne dit an mes ne plus ne mains;  
                   D'aus est la parole remese  
                   Et estainte la vive brese.

This statement shows that Chrétien considered the literature of his own day equal to that of the Greeks and Romans and that he expected French poets to excel all predecessors. No one can doubt

<sup>28</sup> This parallel was first pointed out by Baist (*ZrP* xxi (1897), 402-5), who discovered a verbal borrowing on the part of Chrétien.

that he looked upon himself as the greatest poet of his age. In a much earlier work he had boasted of the immortality of his poetry:

*Erec et Enide*, 23 Des or comancerai l'estoire  
 Qui toz jorz mes iert an memoire  
 Tant con durra crestientez;  
 De ce s'est Crestiens vantez.

With our knowledge of the authority of the Classics in the Middle Ages and of the extent to which they were used as models in the schools, we cannot fail to interpret correctly the words of this conscious poet who wrote for the fame of his work in his own time and in all future ages. His ambition was to carry forward the torch of culture and learning that had been handed on to him and his contemporaries by the ancient Romans. To the Romans, then, we must expect him to turn especially for literary inspiration.

As a matter of fact, Chrétien knew Latin well, for he translated various works of Ovid; and the romances beginning with *Cligès* show a clear and strong influence from Ovid on the love treatment, on the style, and also on some of the *motifs* and episodes.<sup>29</sup>

*Yvain*, upon whatever original story the romance is grafted, is, when looked at from the point of view of its artistic conception in its main outlines, a poem embodying essentially an Ovidian love intrigue wherein a servant in the intimate confidence of her mistress aids the hero in obtaining the love of the heroine. This intrigue is double, since the lady is twice won through the same agency. It is this unbroken thread that holds the various episodes of the loosely constructed romance together like a string of beads. In this romance the love passion is portrayed in a manner learned from Ovid, with the enumeration of the same physical and mental effects of love, a similar psychological analysis of love, long love monologues in the manner of Ovid, the treatment of love as a disease and also as a science to be taught and learned, and the use of particular terms, metaphors, and similes all in the manner of Ovid. There are several episodes in *Yvain* unquestionably based on suggestions from Ovid, such as the funeral at which Yvain falls in love with Laudine, the scene of attempted suicide at the fountain, and the burning of the evil counsellors as a just punishment for their attempt to torture

<sup>29</sup> Cf. my "Influence of Ovid on Crestien de Troyes," *ROM. REV.*, xii (1921), 97-134 and 216-247.



Lunete at the stake. Moreover, a number of passages are copied directly from Ovid. I have treated this influence of Ovid in detail in the study already referred to above, and the data need not be repeated here.

*Yvain*, in comparison with the other works of Chrétien, has often, and rightly, been looked upon as a counterpart to *Erec*.<sup>30</sup> The theme of *Erec* is uxoriousness and its effects on Erec and Enide. And it is precisely in connection with this theme that *Yvain* offers a contrast to *Erec*.<sup>31</sup> The theme of uxoriousness may well be the starting point for our study of *Yvain*. It will be admitted that Chrétien is consciously returning to the problem of *Erec* in the romance of the *Chevalier au lion*. I have shown elsewhere<sup>32</sup> that when he wrote *Erec* Chrétien had not come, insofar as his love-treatment is concerned, under the influence of Ovid. In *Erec* we have the Virgilian attitude toward the theme of uxoriousness.<sup>33</sup> Love diverts the hero's attention momentarily from deeds of valor; but Erec (as well as the author) places personal honor above everything in the world—even above love. For a time Erec is slothful; but Enide, too, places valor and glory above happiness, and misfortune results—a quarrel ensues. Enide is the chief sufferer. Her love is tested in the midst of hardship.

This whole treatment of a love situation is entirely out of keeping with Chrétien's later manner after he had become infatuated with the Ovidian love doctrine. It is natural that our poet should have wished to treat the theme of *Erec* again, and according to his system of courtly love. Everything must then be reversed. The lover must be the slave of a haughty mistress and he must suffer on account of his love. In *Yvain*, as in Ovid, love is preëminent. Momentarily the hero's attention becomes absorbed by deeds of valor and for a time he forgets his love. Misfortune follows and the chief sufferer is Yvain. In neither romance is the break complete

<sup>30</sup> See especially Foerster, *Wib.*, 123; *Ivain*<sup>4</sup>, 1912, xvii.

<sup>31</sup> The analogy of these two works on the basis of the theme of uxoriousness has been pointed out by Professor Nitze (*Mod. Phil.* xi (1914), 457-8; also in *ROM. REV.* x (1919), 34) and by Professor Ogle (*ROM. REV.* ix (1918), 11).

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.*, esp. 232 ff.

<sup>33</sup> It has even been suggested by Professor Ogle that the uxorious theme of *Erec* may have been taken by Chrétien from Virgil's *Aeneid* (*ROM. REV.* ix, 1918, 18).

or lasting. Just as Enide's love had to be tested in *Erec*, so here Yvain's love for Laudine is severely tested before he can regain the favor of his lady.

The faithful, modest Enide would scarcely serve the purpose of a romance like *Yvain*. The changeable Laudine is better suited to the situation.

With the theme of uxoriousness is mingled that of the changeable widow. If the story of the *Widow of Ephesus* is not the source of the kernel of *Yvain*, then some other story of a changeable widow must have been. This widow must be loved by an uxorious hero who will be drawn away from her by deeds of arms, thus causing misfortune and unhappiness. The present writer knows of only one such story; that story is a Latin Classic, the greatest masterpiece of the literature of the Romans, a work that had more influence on Mediaeval literature than any other, a work, in fact, to which every indication points as a probable source of *Yvain* whether we consider the trend of literary movement at the middle of the twelfth century, the training, interests, and inclination of the author, or the themes involved in the work itself—the Dido story of Virgil's *Aeneid*.<sup>24</sup> Being thus directed to a source having the required elements, it remains for us to compare with great care *Yvain* with Virgil's *Aeneid* in order to determine whether there is any striking similarity of detail between the two works.

An analysis of *Yvain* shows that it contains, first, a long exposition (1-1172) which cleverly acquaints us with the *dramatis personae* and brings up the action to the critical situation. This introduction includes the narration by Calogrenant of his disastrous adventure at the fountain. The story is told at the court of King Arthur. This device, according to Chrétien's custom, connects the story with Arthur's court, thus gaining immediately the interest of the twelfth century reader; for Arthurian stories enjoyed, in Chrétien's day, and particularly through our author's own literary successes, the greatest vogue. Yvain, a well-known knight of Arthur's court and a cousin of Calogrenant, determines to undertake the same adventure in order to avenge his cousin's defeat, and thereby becomes the hero. The exposition carefully prepares us for later de-

<sup>24</sup> Dido was constant in her love for Aeneas, faithless, however, toward Sichaeus.

velopments by informing us that Arthur intends to attempt this adventure with a following of knights on St. John's day. Then follow the secret departure of Yvain in advance of all the others; the description of his interesting search for the marvellous spring; the exciting encounter with the red knight, Esclados; the defeat and flight of the red knight; Yvain's imprisonment between the two falling doors, which creates great suspense on account of the danger of the situation; the appearance of Lunete; the assistance that she gives the hero; and, finally, the passing of Laudine in the funeral procession of the dead Esclados le Ros. By now all the important characters of the romance are known to us and the main plot can be developed.

This main plot consists of the winning, losing, and rewinning of Laudine by Yvain. The action receives its initial impulse when Yvain first sees Laudine, beautiful even in the midst of her mourning. He is wounded through the eyes deep in the heart by Cupid's arrow. A complicated situation has arisen, since the hero now desires the love of the widow of the knight whom he has just killed. The problem is solved by remarkable psychological handling. Now King Arthur and Gauvain arrive to carry on the action and to help create a new dramatic crisis. This crisis occurs when, having departed with Gauvain, who has persuaded him not to rest in slothful idleness and the dalliance of love but to win glory in knightly combats, Yvain forgets to return to Laudine at the end of the allotted time and is refused the privilege of returning at all. Between the despair and consequent madness of Yvain and the second winning of Laudine is inserted a series of adventures covering over 4000 lines (2773-6818)—adventures individually interesting, but almost entirely beclouding the main theme. This series, in turn, is cut in two by the return of Yvain to Laudine's court, where he fights in defense of Lunete. When his victory in this combat restores Lunete to Laudine's favor we hope to see a like good fortune for the hero. But since Yvain is forced to suffer still longer and to go out to meet further trials in knightly prowess, this incident serves as a sort of tragic climax to heighten the interest and to keep the attention of the reader fixed on the central theme to the end of the poem. This series of adventures is not entirely useless. Its justification as a

part of the plot lies in the effect that it produces of long suffering on the part of the lover, who seems to be forced to pass through almost interminable hardships in the service of love.

The final reconciliation is ostensibly effected by a trick. Laudine needs a defender for her fountain. Lunete recommends the Knight of the Lion and, before bringing Yvain to her mistress, she makes Laudine promise to do everything in her power to restore the unknown knight to the good graces of his lady. Although Laudine discovers that the Knight of the Lion is none other than Yvain, she makes peace with him in order not to break her promise. All this intriguing of Lunete is so thinly veiled, however, that we doubt whether Laudine was deceived. Chrétien has here for the second time taken us gradually through the stages necessary to bring about a graceful change of mind on the part of his heroine.

Turning to the *Aeneid* we find that, insofar as the characters and the main features of the plot are concerned, it offers an analogue<sup>25</sup> for *Yvain* as follows:

Misfortune casts the hero (Aeneas, Yvain) into a strange land where his life is in danger. He meets a kindly disposed person (Venus, disguised as Diana; Lunete, whose name suggests Diana and who is compared to the moon by Chrétien), who helps him through the time of danger and is of great assistance to him in winning the love of the lady of the land. The hero is rendered invisible (by means of a cloud, ring) until he is safe within the city. Venus confers with Jupiter, who consents to have Dido receive Aeneas hospitably; in addition she employs the strategy of substituting Cupid for Ascanius; and Cupid wounds Dido with his arrows. Lunete uses devices and persuasion of her own invention to win for Yvain the love of Laudine. The lady of the land mourns a dead husband (Sichaeus, Esclados le Ros). There is a *confidante* (Anna, Lunete) who urges the lady to marry the hero, using similar arguments in each story; namely, that the lady must not waste her youth and beauty in weeping, and that she needs a defender for her realm—especially against a certain person (Pygmalion, Arthur) who has threatened to come to the attack of the place and is actually making preparations:

<sup>25</sup> Cf. W. A. Nitze, "The Romance of Erec Son of Lac," *Mod. Phil.*, xi (1914), 14, note 1.

*Aeneis*, IV, 31 Anna refert: "O luce magis dilecta sorori,  
Solane perpetua moerens carpere juventa?  
Nec venit in mentem quorum consederis arvis?  
Hinc Getulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello,  
Et Numidae infreni cingunt, et inhospita Syrtis:  
Hinc deserta siti regio, lateque furentes  
Barcae. Quid bella Tyro surgentia dicam,  
Germanique minas?"

*Yvain*, 1614 "Mes or dites, si ne vos griet,  
Vostre terre qui deffandra,  
Quant li rois Artus i vandra,  
Qui doit venir l'autre semaine."

1666 "Ha, dame, est ce ore avenant,  
Que si de duel vos ociëz?"

The lady claims to prefer to share her former husband's tomb rather than to marry again:

*Aeneis*, IV, 24 "Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat,  
Pallentes umbras Erebi, noctemque profundam,  
Ante, Pudor, quam te violo, aut tua jura resolvo!  
Ille meos, primus qui me sibi junxit, amores  
Abstulit: ille habeat secum, servetque sepulcro."

*Yvain*, 1602 "Nenil," fet ele, "mes mon vuel  
Seroie je morte d'enui."  
"Por quoi?"—"Por aler après lui."

And yet both ladies change their minds and give their love to their new lovers. Both Virgil and Chrétien comment on the changeableness of women—Virgil in terms that have ever since been proverbial:

*Aeneis*, IV, 569 . . . "varium et mutabile semper  
Femina."

*Yvain*, 1436 Que fame a plus de mil corages <sup>36</sup>  
Celui corage qu'ele a ore,  
Espoir changera ele ancore,—  
Ainz le changera sanz "espoir."  
and 1749 Es vos ja la dame changee.

<sup>36</sup> This particular line is probably borrowed from Ovid, *Ars amatoria* I, 755.

. . . Sed sunt diversa puellis  
Pectora, mille animos excipe mille modis.

Both lovers seem inclined to devote themselves entirely to their love; but soon they are awakened from their sloth (by Mercury, Gauvain) and, leaving their mistresses, they go forth to deeds of valor. The break causes deep suffering and the lady refuses to forgive.<sup>87</sup> Aeneas finds a second love, but Yvain, like Erec, returns to his first mistress.

The *Aeneid*, with its theme of the uxorious hero, its widow who protests her unfaltering loyalty to her dead husband only to turn to another lover immediately, and the famous Virgilian phrase, "varium et mutabile semper femina," seems to have furnished the themes and, to some extent, the outline for the kernel of Chrétien's romance.

Laudine has no personality. She is nothing more than a personification of Virgil's phrase in regard to the changeable nature of woman; for she appears first stricken with grief (1173 ff.), tearing her hair and beating her breast in a truly classical manner, loud in her protestations of love for her late husband; then we see her receiving the friendly sympathy and listening to the advice of Lunete (1589 ff.), but refusing to accept that advice even though she realizes that it is good (1640 ff.), pretending to be vexed and dismissing her companion (1645 ff.), recognizing her mistake when alone (1654 ff.), ready to listen again (1663), asking advice (1679 ff.) and promising not to become angry (1685), breaking her promise and insulting Lunete (1710 ff.), worrying all night and changing her mind about accepting Lunete's advice (1734 ff.), realizing the loyalty of her friend and repenting of her harshness (1749 ff.), casting off her grief and the memory of the dead husband (1773 ff.), deciding to marry Yvain (1816 ff.), now unable to wait (1821 ff.), pretending to love Yvain dearly (2556 ff.), indulgently consenting to his departure (2562 ff.), claiming to have awaited his return with anxiety, but, since Yvain has overstayed his term, becoming impatient and resentful, refusing to allow him to return and thus driving him to madness (2742 ff.), but, later, allowing Lunete to persuade her to receive Yvain back again (6576 ff.). Such is the varying nature of this woman.

There are two other passages in *Yvain* that recall in a general way lines from the *Aeneid*. Both Laudine and Dido were ac-

<sup>87</sup> Cf. the meeting of Aeneas and Dido in the other world (V, 450 ff.).

quainted with the fame and ancestry of the hero concerned and comment thereon:

*Aeneis*, IV, 565 "Quis genus Aeneasdûm, quis Trojae nesciat urbem?"

*Yvain*, 1815 "Comant a non?"—"Mes sire Yvains."  
 "Par foi, cist n'est mie vilains,  
 Ainz est mout frans, je le sai bien,  
 Si est fiz au roi Urien."

The following words of Dido:

*Aeneis*, IV, 10 "Quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes!  
 Quem sese ore ferens! quam forti pectore et  
 armis!  
 Credo equidem (nec vana fides) genus esse  
 deorum.  
 Degeneres animos timor arguit. Heu! quibus ille  
 Jactatus fatis! quae bella exhausta canebat!"

are, perhaps, reflected somewhat in the following by Lunete:

*Yvain*, 998 "N'est mie prodon, qui trop dote.  
 Por ce cuit que prodon soiez,  
 Que n'estes pas trop esmaiez."

The comparison of Gauvain to the sun (2400 ff.) may have been suggested by that of Aeneas to Apollo (IV, 143 ff.). The language is closer, however, to Ovid's in his comparison of Augustus to the sun (*Tristia* II, 323 ff.).<sup>22</sup> Doubtless Chrétien knew both the Virgilian and the Ovidian passage and was influenced by both in his choice of the simile. The association of Gauvain, whom he calls the sun, and Lunete, whom he names for the first time at this point in the story (2414), stating that she is named after the moon, may have led Chrétien to choose the name Lunete. He may have been influenced in this matter by the disguise of Venus, to whom Lunete is in some respects similar, as Diana at her appearance before Aeneas just without the city of Carthage. At least the name reveals its Classical origin and its association with the comparison of Gauvain to the sun is significant.

The French mediaeval poets make their stories over to suit the ideas and taste of their time. This is particularly true of Chrétien. One must expect the elements of Virgil's *Aeneid* to be completely

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *ROM. REV.* xii (1921), 130.

transformed in *Yvain*. The situations are heightened in their dramatic interest and varied by combination with new elements. The solution of the main problem is different because of differences (1) in the genre (change from epic to romance) of the work itself, (2) in the estimation of moral and social values on the part of the two poets, and (3) in the importance given to the themes under our consideration by them (in Virgil the Dido episode forms but a small part of the whole epic—it is, in fact, a subordinate episode used as a temporary reversal of the hero's fortune—whereas in Chrétien's epic its counterpart is the central episode and the whole story is built around the love of Yvain for Laudine).

The theory here presented will gain in probability if it can be shown further how Chrétien effected so great a transformation in the use of the Dido episode as the kernel of his romance.

Dido did not remarry immediately after the death of Sichaeus, nor did she marry the slayer of her former husband. These elements were either original with Chrétien or they were borrowed from other sources. They do not embarrass the present theory which suggests the amalgamation of Classical and popular elements in the romance of *Yvain*, nor is their introduction at all strange to the student of Old French romance; for the usual method in those stories was to use a number of episodes out of older tales but in new combinations. Many such episodes are woven together in various romances in numberless variations. Chrétien calls *Erec et Enide* a "mout bele conjointure"; that is, a literary combination,<sup>39</sup> thus furnishing an authoritative model and perhaps inventing the Old French romance.<sup>40</sup> *Cligès* is a combination of a mediaeval Latin tale with elements from the story of *Tristan and Isolt*, from Geoffrey of Monmouth, Ovid, and other sources.<sup>41</sup>

An important element in the shaping of the plot of *Yvain* was Ovid's suggestion:

*Ars* III, 431 Funere saepe viri vir quaeritur : isse solitis  
Criminibus et fletus non tenuisse decet.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *Romania*, XLIV (1915), 16, n. 1, for the meaning of this word.

<sup>40</sup> The whole question of the chronology of Old French romances is involved in this statement. There are reasons for believing that *Erec* is older than *Thèbes*. The present author will present these reasons in another place.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *ROM. REV.* (1921), 220 ff.



If this passage and the following lines of the *Ars amatoria* are read with care, their significance for our study will appear. After having suggested that a widow may find a new husband at the funeral of the first, Ovid goes on to warn women against deceivers who go about making love but proving themselves faithless. Ovid illustrates his remarks by examples taken from Classical legends. He mentions Theseus and Demophoon who win the love of Ariadne and of Phyllis only to prove themselves untrue. Obviously the story of Aeneas and Dido would furnish as good an example.

Here Chrétien very probably found an indication of a new story by the juxtaposition of these two ideas in the *Ars amatoria*: a story of a widow who wins a second husband at the funeral of the first, but only to have that new husband prove faithless. Chrétien used exactly this method in the episode of Alixandre and Soredamors in *Cligès*.<sup>42</sup> There he conceived his plot on the basis of lines in Ovid, *Amores* I, 2. First the question and answer:

Cedimus an subitum luctando accendimus ignem?  
Cedamus!

then the suggestions following as to what would happen in the way of torment to the person who does not yield. Chrétien took the torment and inserted it between the inception of love in the breasts of his lovers and the final yielding to love supplementing the indications offered in *Amores* I, 2 by other themes taken from other parts of Ovid's works. In the same way in *Yvain*, he has taken suggestions from Ovid for the beginning and end of a story, with others for the body of the story following, and used them thus except that the Dido story, which was not indicated by Ovid but which is similar to the indications that he does give, is substituted. In fact, the actual plan followed by Chrétien is the insertion of a story like the Aeneas and Dido episode between the funeral of Laudine's former husband and the quarrel between Laudine and Yvain. At this point in Chrétien's story Laudine's messenger cries out against Yvain in terms similar to Ovid's warning to women against deceivers:

*Ars* III, 433 Sed vitate viros cultum formaque professos,  
Quique suas ponunt in statione comas.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. my "Influence of Ovid on Crestien de Troyes," *ROM. REV.* (1921), 102 ff. and 222 ff.

Quae vobis dicunt, dixerunt mille puellis :  
Errat et in nulla sede moratur amor.

Sunt qui mendaci specie grassentur amoris,  
Perque aditus talis lucra pudenda petant.

Forsitan ex horum numero cultissimus ille  
Fur sit et uratur vestis amore tuae.

Parcite, Cecropides, iuranti credere Theseo :  
Quos faciet testis, fecit et ante, deos ;  
Et tibi, Demophon, Thesei criminis heres,  
Phyllide decepta nulla relictæ fides.

Yvain, 2716

Si dist que sa dame salue  
Le roi et mon seignor Gauvain  
Et toz les autres fors Yvain,  
Le desleal, le traïtor,  
Le mançongier, le jangleor,  
Qui l'a leïssiee et deceüe.  
" Bien a sa jangle aperceüe,  
Qui se faisoit verais amerre,  
S'estoit faus et traître et lerre.  
Ma dame a cist lerre soduïte,  
Qui n'estoit de nul mal recuite,  
Ne ne cuidoit pas a nul fuer,  
Qu'il li deüst anbler son cuer.  
Cil n'anblent pas les cuers, qui aiment,  
Si a teus, qui larrons les claimment,  
Qui an amor vont faunoiant  
Et si n'an sevent tant ne quant."

Laudine's messenger, in making her complaint against Yvain, also speaks of the term agreed upon for his return to Laudine, states that lovers count the days while the loved one is away, that Laudine has counted them and therefore does not complain too soon. Now it is hardly likely to be fortuitous that these three elements of the term agreed upon, the counting of the days by the deserted woman as all lovers count, and the remark that the lady does not complain before the end of the term are all present in Ovid's own account of one of the illustrative tales of faithless lovers to which he refers in giving his warning to women against deceivers in the *Ars amatoria*; namely, the story of Demophoon and Phyllis:

Her. II, 1 Hospita, Demophoon, tua te Rhodepeia Phyllis  
Ultra promissum tempus abesse queror.  
Cornua cum lunae pleno semel orbe coissent,

Litoribus nostris ancora pacta tuaest :  
 Luna quater latuit, toto quater orbe recrevit,  
 Nec vehit Actaeas Sithonis unda rates.  
 Tempora si numeres, quae nos numeramus amantes,  
 Non venit ante suam nostra querela diem ;

*Yvain*, 2742 Mes Yvain a ma dame morte ;  
 Qu'ele cuidoit qu'il li gardast  
 Son cuer et si li raportast  
 Einçois que fust passez li anz.

. . . . .  
 Jusqu'a la feste saint Jehan  
 Te dona ele de respit,  
 . . . . .

Car qui aime, est an grant porpans,  
 N'onques ne puet prandre buen some,  
 Mes tote nuit conte et assome  
 Les jorz qui viennent et qui vont.  
 Sez tu come li amant font ?  
 Content le tens et la seison.  
 N'est pas venue sanz reison  
 Sa complainte ne devant jor,

Since the man is to suffer rather than the lady and since it is in the nature of the love portrayed by Chrétien in this romance that the lady should be imperious and the man obedient to her every wish, no other explanation is needed for Yvain's despair and inability to go back to his mistress until she consents.

Our study seems to warrant the conclusion that Chrétien was probably aided in his conception of the plan of *Yvain*—a romance treating a theme similar to that of *Erec et Enide*—by suggestions from Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, and that into the plan thus conceived Chrétien cleverly fitted the story of a changeable widow and an uxorious hero possibly based on the story of Dido and Aeneas, that Virgil may have thus offered the source of the kernel of *Yvain*, or, if not so, that the Virgilian story was undoubtedly in Chrétien's mind and at least served to help in the transformation of Chrétien's source to his own needs, and that these themes were elaborated by means of Ovidian love theories to form a counterpart to *Erec*—a romance written in Chrétien's early manner, previous to his infatuation with Ovidian love doctrine—and finally that the whole was cast into the mould of a Mediaeval French romance and amalgamated with Chrétien's Celtic material.

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## THE ITALIAN SOURCE OF ANTONIO SCOPPA'S THEORY ON FRENCH VERSIFICATION

THE study of comparative Romance versification takes its origin with the work of Antonio Scoppa, entitled *Les vrais principes de la versification*, in three volumes, which were published from 1811 to 1814.<sup>1</sup> Scoppa has always been considered as the first to treat the problem of French verse from a scientific standpoint,<sup>2</sup> and almost all works dealing with the system of French versification take Scoppa's book for a starting-point,<sup>3</sup> no matter whether or not they approve of the theories established in the *Vrais principes*.

At the same time, it has not always been certain whether the learned Abbé deserved all the credit given him, and doubts have repeatedly been expressed as to his originality. It is, above all, an Italian work which has been supposed to be the real source<sup>4</sup> of the *Vrais principes*: a book of Giovenale Sacchi, published in Milan in 1770 and entitled *Della divisione del tempo nella musica, nel ballo, e nella poesia*. However, no comparative study has been made as yet to prove or disprove this dependency of Scoppa on an Italian model, and to determine this is the object of the present article.

For our purposes only the third part of Sacchi's treatise is of importance. It is divided into five chapters. In the first, entitled *Della pronunzia delle moderne lingue*, the author develops his theory of the various meanings of the word 'accent.' He gives a definition of the conception implied by the Italian word *accento*, distinguishing between (1) the *accento che significa la parola, o qualsivoglia suono, che l'uomo metta, e sia indizio degli AFFETTI che lo commuovono*; (2) the *accento che significa IL MODO DI PARLARE d'una nazione*, and (3) the *accento che è UNA SILLABA, che in ciascuna parola è all'orecchio di chi ode più sensibile di tutte le altre ch'essa parola*.

<sup>1</sup> Antonio Scoppa, *Les vrais principes de la versification développés par un examen comparatif entre la langue italienne et la française*, Paris, Courcier, 1811-14.

<sup>2</sup> Gustav Gröber, *Geschichte der romanischen Philologie*, Gröbers Grundriss, I<sup>2</sup>, Strassburg, 1904-6, pp. 59 and 86.

<sup>3</sup> Hugo P. Thieme, *Essai sur l'histoire du vers français*, Paris, 1916, p. 156.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31 and 238.

*compongono*, that is to say, the syllabic stress, which Sacchi considers the basis of modern versification—of Italian as well as of other languages—and in the course of his work he uses the word *accento* to denote this specific kind of accent (pp. 60–62).

The same method of procedure is adopted by Scoppa, with the difference that the latter distinguishes between *eight* kinds of accent, among which figure the three mentioned by Sacchi and which Scoppa designates by the names of *accent pathétique*, *national* and *grammatical*. The verses of Dante and Petrarch quoted by Sacchi to show what he means by the second of the three have been taken over word for word by Scoppa, and the whole passage is nothing but a translation and an amplification of the Italian. Cf. *Vrais principes*, I, 61–63.

Sacchi goes on to distinguish two kinds of word accents, which he calls *accento di rinforzo* and *accento di produzione*. He defines the former as follows:

“in tanto vincono le compagne col loro suono, in quanto in esse la voce di chi parla si dimora un poco più lungamente,”

and the latter:

“non propriamente ci si rendono più notabili, perchè in quelle si dimori la voce più che nelle altre; ma perchè vi si fa più gagliarda con un certo subito impeto; e così danno all'orecchio di chi ode una percossa maggiore, e più viva, simile a quella, che sentir ci fanno nella Musica quelle note, che Martellate si chiamano” (pp. 62–63).

Scoppa observes the same distinction, taking over the Italian used by Sacchi, and transcribing the rather diffuse definitions of Sacchi in still more diffused French (*V. p.*, I, 77–78).

Sacchi tries to disprove the theory that accent consists in a difference of pitch (pp. 63–66). Scoppa follows him in this demonstration (*V. p.*, I, 68).

The Italian writer attacks Jean Jacques Rousseau on account of his statement that the French language lacks accent (p. 66), an attack which is taken up by Scoppa (*V. p.*, I, 86–87).

According to the syllable of a word upon which the stress accent falls, Sacchi distinguishes between *parole tronche*, *piane*, *sdruciole*, and *più che sdruciole* (p. 66), a system of classification adopted by the author of the *Vrais principes*, in which we find incorporated the

examples used by Sacchi to illustrate his theory (*V. p.*, I, 74-75).

The part of the Italian treatise dealing with the qualities of each of the different classes of words (pp. 66-67) is translated almost literally by Scoppa (*V. p.*, I, 76-77). The same is true of Sacchi's distinction between *accento di rinforzo* and *accento di produzione*, treated here in greater detail (pp. 67-68), and found nearly word for word in Scoppa's work (*V. p.*, I, 77-78).

The Italian writer treats the influence of the four classes of words on the structure of the verse and establishes the rule that the syllables following the last accent of a line of verse must not be considered in the counting of syllables—a rule which is of greatest importance for Romance versification (p. 68). His argumentation is taken up by Scoppa, who again translates and amplifies the Italian text (*V. p.*, I, 166-168).

Next, Sacchi discusses the effect of composition and de-composition of words on the word accent (pp. 68-70), and the conditions under which a word may lose its accent in the interior of a stressed group (p. 70). The same subject is treated by Scoppa, again with the same lack of independent thought (*V. p.*, I, 69-73).

Sacchi proves that the theory developed by him holds good not only for his mother tongue, but for other languages as well, quoting from Gottsched,<sup>5</sup> Altieri,<sup>6</sup> and Caramuele<sup>7</sup> to show its correctness for German, English, and Spanish (pp. 70-72). The argumentation is found literally, including the quotations, in the *Vrais principes*, I, 89-90.

The following sections of Sacchi's treatise are devoted to applying the same theory to the French language (pp. 72-73). What Scoppa says on this subject (*V. p.*, I, 84-120) is but an amplification of the Italian. What he brings out independently of Sacchi is the fact that French differs from Italian in the large number of *parole tronche*, that is, words with masculine ending, while in Italian the *parole piane*, words with feminine ending, prevail (*V. p.*, I, 99);

<sup>5</sup> He calls Gottsched's work the *Maestro alemanno*; as the quotation is very short, it is impossible to say from which of the critical works of that author it was taken.

<sup>6</sup> Sacchi gives neither title nor page reference.

<sup>7</sup> From the *Calamus Secundus Campaniae*. No page reference given. Cf. on this writer: A. Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne au XVI<sup>e</sup> et au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Heilbronn, 1878, p. 494.

that modern French completely lacks the *parole sdrucchiole*, in which Italian abounds (*ibid.*, p. 102), and the consequences of these differences for the harmony of both languages. Scoppa, likewise independently of Sacchi, establishes the rule that the nearer the accent stands to the end of the stressed group, the stronger it becomes (*ibid.*, p. 93).

Sacchi concludes his chapter with a praise of the Italian *favella* and an admonition addressed to his countrymen to cultivate their language. Scoppa follows his model also in this, only that he praises the French language on every occasion, putting it above the Italian.

The second chapter of Sacchi's treatise (pp. 76-114) bears the title *Della pronunzia delle lingue antiche*. In the first section, Sacchi gives an outline of the theory commonly adopted as to the system of ancient prosody: that it was exclusively based on quantity, the difference between long and short syllables being so great that it was easily noticed by the ear, and the whole system being so entirely different from that of the modern languages that it is impossible to imitate in any of them the ancient metrical forms of verse. He adds that he considers this theory as perfectly erroneous, and that according to him ancient versification was based upon the same principle as that of the modern languages, that is, upon the "word accent."

He divides his arguments into two groups. In the first he supports his opinion by quotations from authorities: Cicero and Quintilian. In the second he relies on purely rational arguments. It is strange, he says, that all languages, however widely they differ in all other points, should agree in that their versification is based upon the "word accent" and that only Greek and Latin should have adhered to a different system, unknown in any of the modern languages. The ancient terms of acute and grave accent, he goes on to say, do not allow any inference as to a different system of pronunciation and intonation. The works of the Classics, though read with modern intonation, still sound perfectly harmonious, which would be impossible if they were based on a different system of intonation; consequently, the ancient and modern systems must be identical, that is, both must be based on the word accent. The

system of quantity would require a constant rapidity of speech, preventing the ancients from sometimes speaking more rapidly, sometimes more slowly, as we do. This, Scoppa declares, is contrary to human nature and therefore impossible. He denies there having been a difference between long and short syllables great enough to be clearly perceptible to the ear, and he alleges the well-known fact that not only popular, but also literary, poets of antiquity made mistakes in quantity, quoting a passage from the *Ars poetica* of Horace. Then he tries to show that two texts, from Saint Augustine<sup>8</sup> and Cicero,<sup>9</sup> frequently quoted by grammarians in favor of their theory of quantity, prove nothing, the first tending rather to support his, Sacchi's, theory of the word accent, the other referring to music, not to speech. Not being able to deny altogether the existence of a certain difference in quantity in Latin, the author tries to prove that this difference was of the same nature as that found in the modern languages, where long and short syllables are still distinguished to a certain extent, though this distinction does not serve as a basis for prosody.

The title of the second chapter of the *Vrais principes* (I, 131-154) is a literal translation from the Italian. It reads: *De la prononciation des langues anciennes*. His arguments are in large part translated from the Italian. Like Sacchi, he divides them into two groups: such as are based upon authorities, and such as depend upon reason alone. The quotations are identical with those of Sacchi.

The third chapter of Sacchi's treatise (pp. 114-119), bearing the title *Del Piede poetico, del Metro, e del Ritmo*, starts with a definition of the terms foot, metre, and rhythm. The author identifies the poetical foot with the musical measure, *battuta*, distinguishing four fundamental kinds: iambus, trochee, anapest, and dactyl, the "word accent" taking the place of the long syllables. The metre he defines as a combination of two feet of the same character. According to the four kinds of feet, four rhythms exist. To support this theory of identity between the poetical foot and the musical *battuta*, Sacchi quotes from Saint Augustine and Quintilian.

This chapter of the Italian treatise is translated literally into French by Antonio Scoppa, the third subdivision of the fourth

<sup>8</sup> From *De arte grammatica*.

<sup>9</sup> From *De Oratore*.



chapter of the *Vrais principes* being entitled *Du pied poétique, du mètre et du rythme*.<sup>10</sup>

Chapter IV of Sacchi's work, entitled *Teoria universale della versificazione*, begins with a classification of the systems of versification. He mentions three main groups as established by previous critics: the *genere metrico*, the *genere armonico*, and the *genere ritmico*, the first comprising Greek and Latin, the second the modern systems of versification. About the third, the Italian makes only vague and rather misleading statements, evidently because he knew very little about it. After discussing various comparisons made before his time between ancient and modern systems of versification, Sacchi considers the different kinds of verse. He establishes three feet to be the minimum, five feet to be the maximum of length of a verse line. The alexandrine he considers as a compound verse, composed of two independent verses of three feet each. Having distinguished four groups of rhythms and shown that a verse can have only three, four, or five feet, he concludes that there exist only twelve different groups of verses, according to the number of feet and the kind of rhythm. He adds that all of them can have one feminine syllable more after the last accent (pp. 119-126).

Scoppa, translating for the most part literally as usual, entitles the second part of his work *Théorie de la versification*. Omitting the distinction between the *genere metrico*, the *genere armonico*, and the *genere ritmico*, he at once begins discussing the different kinds of verse, copying the system of Sacchi, translating and amplifying, as is his wont (*V. p.*, I, 243-250).

In the following section, Sacchi tries to prove that the ancient iambic trimeter is identical with the Italian *endecasillabo sdrucciolo*, and that the hexameter consists of only five feet, not of six (pp. 126-132).

His argumentation is found in the *Vrais principes* in almost literal translation, including the quotations from Catullus, Sannazaro, and Maurus Terentianus (pp. 250-254).

Sacchi goes on to examine each of the twelve groups of verse he had established (pp. 132-153). Especially noteworthy is his section xli, where he treats the imitation of ancient metres in the

<sup>10</sup> In the first and second subdivision, Scoppa gives an outline of Sacchi's treatise *Della divisione del tempo nella musica*.

modern languages, the possibility of which is but a consequence of his theory.

Scoppa's exposition of the same subject (*V. p.*, I, 289-431) differs from that of his model in that he discusses at length also the short verses, consisting of less than three feet, and which, according to Sacchi, are no verses at all and therefore only slightly touched upon (pp. 255-289). In his discussion of the regular verses, Scoppa follows an order different from that of his model. While Sacchi considers (1) verses of iambic rhythm with three, four, and five feet, (2) the same three classes of verses with trochaic rhythm, (3) those with dactylic, and (4) those with anapestic rhythm, Scoppa treats the common Romance verses in their natural order, beginning with the six-syllable and ending with the ten-syllable verse. Each of his chapters is again subdivided into three parts, the first dealing with the Italian, the second with the French, and the third with the ancient verses. As far as the first and the third are concerned, he follows his model closely, transcribing Sacchi's theories and taking over his examples and illustrations, sometimes slightly increasing their number by additions of his own. For the second parts he is more independent. Not finding French quotations in the Italian treatise, he had to take the trouble of collecting them himself from among the French Classical poets: Racine, Voltaire, J. B. Rousseau, and others. Rather independent of Sacchi is his chapter on the alexandrine (*V. p.*, I, 299-330), though it is entirely based on Sacchi's theory of this verse being composed of two verses of three feet each. Scoppa's Article VII (*V. p.*, I, 417-431), treating the question of the imitation of ancient hexameters and pentameters in the modern languages, is but a translation and an amplification of Sacchi's disquisitions on the same subject (pp. 147-153).

On pp. 153-157 of the Italian treatise we find a discussion of the possibilities of mingling different kinds of verse in one poetic unit, the rules to be observed and the combinations to be preferred. Sacchi establishes the rules that

- (1) only verses of the same rhythm should be mingled,
- (2) that verses which can be divided into two equal parts, such as the eight-syllable verse, should not be combined with such as are composed of two unequal parts. He also insists upon the difference

between the ten-syllable verse with stressed fourth or sixth syllable, which he calls *endecasillabo eroico*, and the ten-syllable verse with stressed fifth syllable, which he calls *endecasillabo Rolliano*.<sup>11</sup>

The same discussion is found in Article IV of chapter III of the *Vrais principes* (I, pp. 512-519). The examples are again taken from Sacchi's treatise.

In section xlv, Sacchi brings out the fact that the Italians prefer the rising rhythm, iambus and anapest, to the falling rhythm, trochee and dactyl. Scoppa repeats this statement (*V. p.*, I, 407-408).

Section xlv treats the alexandrine, numerous passages of which have likewise been taken over by Scoppa.

Section xlvI deals with the short verses; it forms the nucleus of Scoppa's detailed account of this subject.

Chapter V of Sacchi's work bears the title *D'alcune difficoltà, che contro l'esposto sistema si potrebbero muovere. Della rima, e dell'Esametro eroico*. The critic refutes some of the objections which might be raised against his theory and tries to explain some of the apparent inconsistencies it contains (pp. 162-170). Scoppa (*V. p.*, I, 223-234) takes up the same objections and refutations, translating them literally in parts.

In his discussions of rhyme, Sacchi is far from insisting upon the necessity of rhyme in poetry, but on the other hand considers unjustifiable the attacks made against rhyme by various critics. Scoppa, in his article entitled *De la rime et des vers libres* (pp. 477-511), assumes precisely the same attitude.

Sacchi shows that the mere fact that the ancients did not use rhyme does not prove anything against its fitness for the modern languages, the whole character of the two groups of languages, ancient and modern, being so entirely different. Scoppa translates a good part of this argumentation.

In the following three sections (pp. 173-186), Sacchi takes up once more and in greater detail the problems connected with the heroic verse, contending that the Italian ten-syllable verse is as fit for epic poetry as the ancient hexameter, and even more fitted to be set to music than the Greek metre.

<sup>11</sup> Sacchi was ignorant of the fact that this verse is an old Romance verse occurring in Old French, Provençal, and Spanish poetry. He believed it to have been "invented" by the Italian Paolo Rolli, in the eighteenth century.

Scoppa (*V. p.*, I, 393-395 and 417-431) translates whole passages of this discussion, adding examples of his own and extending Sacchi's observations to the French language.

In the concluding section, Sacchi reiterates the main purpose of his treatise, which is to establish rules that must be observed by any poet writing verse with the object in view of having it set to music.

Recapitulating what has been said in the foregoing chapters, we may state that practically the whole third part of Sacchi's treatise has been absorbed in the compilation of Scoppa. It forms the basis for Scoppa's system; what the latter adds of his own are but insignificant amplifications. Sacchi proposed his theory for all languages, ancient and modern, Romance and Teutonic, but exemplified it only for Greek, Latin, and Italian. Scoppa's merit consists solely in having brought in a few modifications required by the character of the French language, and of having undergone the trouble of selecting examples from among the French Classical poets.

This does not mean that Sacchi was his only source; though it is extremely probable that he was his only Italian source. From the quotations found in the *Vrais principes*, we may see that Scoppa was familiar with the whole of French critical literature and repeatedly drew on it. To adduce just one example: Scoppa's treatment of the different meanings of the word accent has been taken over almost literally from the work of D'Olivet, entitled *Traité de la prosodie française*.<sup>12</sup> But these borrowings represent merely accessory details. The idea that the "word accent" is the true basis of all systems of versification, ancient and modern, did not originate with Scoppa, but was adopted by him from the work of Giovenale Sacchi. Scoppa has little more than the merit of a vulgarizer, who skilfully adapted Sacchi's theory to the French language.

Another and far graver question, as it reflects upon the moral character of the Abbé, is that of his good faith in compiling his work. Truly, he quotes Sacchi very frequently, giving him credit and praising him highly for his theory; yet only in a few places does he actually state that he is transcribing Sacchi's ideas. He translates whole passages from the Italian without ever mentioning that fact. Aside from the reproach implied in such a statement, it is

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *V. p.*, I, 61, and D'Olivet, p. 257; *V. p.*, I, 63, and D'Olivet, p. 258.

certainly a proof of the intellectual barrenness of a man, if he is unable to clothe his ideas in his own words, but is compelled to translate word for word from another language.

What is surprising is that at the time of the publication of the *Vrais Principes* no one noticed that it was little more than a plagiarism. Sacchi's work seems to have been almost unknown in France. In this statement, however, lies at the same time a justification, however small, of Scoppa's treatise, and something of a merit after all. It may safely be said that without his compilation Sacchi's work would always have been unknown to the French critics. For this reason, Scoppa will always keep his place in the History of French versification.

In the following part of this study examples of the borrowings made by Scoppa from Sacchi's treatise will be shown in parallel columns. The passages which Scoppa acknowledged to have been transcribed from the Italian have not been considered, the purpose of this work being primarily to show Scoppa's dependence on his Italian model in places where he claims originality or received credit for such.

Sacchi, p. 60

La voce Accento, la quale in diverse significazioni si suol prendere, alcune volte significa la parola, o qualsivoglia suono, che l'uomo metta, e sia indizio degli affetti, che lo commuovono: laonde presso l'Aldighieri leggiamo: Parole di dolore, accenti d'ira; e presso il Petrarca:

Posto hai silenzio a'più soavi

accenti,

Che mai s'udiro

Scoppa, I, 61-62

Le mot accent offre plusieurs significations. . . . L'accent pathétique est une espèce particulière de l'accent oratoire: c'est l'accent des passions; il donne plus d'expressions aux différens mouvemens des passions dont le coeur est ému; il s'énonce non seulement par les mots, mais aussi par de simples sons, variés et différemment nuancés selon la différence des passions et de leur intensité: on sent par là les tons de la voix s'affaiblir ou se fortifier, s'enfler ou se rétrécir, s'adoucir ou s'aigrir. Chaque passion a son accent: c'est dans ce sens que Dante dit: Lacrine di dolore, accenti d'ira, et Petrarca:

Posto hai silenzio a'più soavi

accenti

Che mai s'udiro

Sacchi, p. 76

Se noi vogliamo prestar fede ai Gramatici, la pronunzia degli antichi Greci e Latini era diversa affatto, e dissimilissima da quella di tutte le lingue, che nel Mondo si parlano a dì nostri. Gli accenti, che in parlando da quelli si usavano, erano a lor parere di tutt'altra natura, che i nostri non sono. Dalla varia distanza, ed ordinata posizione dei medesimi punto non dipendeva in quelle lingue il numero poetico, ed oratorio, siccome appresso di noi. Questo finalmente in altro non consisteva, che nella quantità delle sillabe ora brevi, ora lunghe, che le une alle altre con certo, e determinato ordine succedevano . . . , che il vero suono degli antichi esametri, e pentametri è perito, e che somiglianti versi in nessuna delle lingue viventi si porrebbero comporre.

Sacchi, p. 77

Due sono per così dire i principali fonti, dai quali si posson trarre vevoli, ed opportuni argomenti per toglier via ogni quistione, allor che trattasi di alcun fatto, il qual sia dubbio. Il primo è quello della autorità di celebri, e dotti Scrittori, che nulla possano ignorare di ciò, che ad esso appartiene; l'altro è quello della ragione, la qual ci mostri ciò, che dovette pur essere necessariamente, o che almeno è più verisimile, e più facile a credersi.

Sacchi, p. 78

Consideri chi legge le recitate parole, e vedrà senza dubbio, che esse apertamente confermano la similitudine de' moderni accenti cogli antichi, la quale io difendo.

Scoppa, I, 131

Ces recherches choquent ouvertement l'opinion généralement reçue des grammairiens, qui ne doutent point que la prononciation des anciens Grecs et Latins n'ait été très-différente de la nôtre: et qui soutiennent que leurs accens étaient aussi d'une toute autre nature; que le nombre poétique et oratoire ne dépendait point de leur arrangement; que la versification grecque et latine était uniquement fondée sur la combinaison des longues et des brèves . . . , et qu'enfin le véritable son des vers hexamètres et pentamètres est inconnu chez les modernes, et qu'on ne saurait imiter ces sortes de vers dans les langues vivantes.

Scoppa, I, 133

Soit que l'on consulte la raison, soit que l'on veuille s'en tenir à l'autorité des anciens, tout semble favoriser l'opinion de cet illustre littérateur—Sacchi.

Scoppa, I, 134

On ne saurait mieux prouver la ressemblance parfaite de l'accent aigu ou tonique des langues italienne et française avec celui de la langue latine.

P. S. ZAMPIÈRE

# VOLTAIRE'S INTRODUCTION OF THE SPELLING *ai* IN SUCH WORDS AS *français*

FROM contemporary evidence it seems clear that the general belief is correct that Voltaire was the first writer to substitute *ai* for *oi* in such words as *français*; but apparently the brief history of the innovation has never been recorded. It is true that Voltaire was not the first to suggest the change, which had been proposed as early as 1675 by Nicolas Berain in his *Nouvelles remarques sur la langue française*.<sup>1</sup> Voltaire's leadership, however, in introducing the new spelling is shown by Marmontel, who says in his preface to the 1746 edition of the *Henriade*:

"Il ne me reste plus qu'un mot à dire sur l'orthographe qu'on a suivie dans cette édition; c'est celle de l'auteur; il l'a justifiée lui-même: et puisqu'il n'a contre lui qu'un usage condamné par ceux même qui le suivent, il paraît assez inutile de prouver qu'il a eu raison de s'en écarter."

Again, in the de Kehl edition of Voltaire's works, published a few years after his death (1784-1789), the editors remark:

"Il entreprit le premier d'accorder l'orthographe avec la prononciation, et fit voir le ridicule d'écrire le peuple *français* comme saint *François*. Plusieurs écrivains ont senti la justesse de ses observations et ont adopté son système."<sup>2</sup>

The new spelling appeared for the first time in the 1736 edition of *Zaïre* and is justified as follows by Voltaire in the "avertissement":<sup>3</sup>

"On a imprimé *Français* par un *a*, et on usera ainsi dans la nouvelle édition de la *Henriade*. Il faut en tout conformer à l'usage, et écrire autant qu'on peut comme on prononce; il serait ridicule de dire en vers, les *François* et les *Anglois*, puisqu'en prose tout le monde prononce *Français*." *à l'usage ?*

<sup>1</sup> Kr. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française*, vol. i, pp. 178, 179.

<sup>2</sup> Note on Epître I, A Monseigneur, Fils unique de Louis XIV.

<sup>3</sup> Nyrop, however, appears to be mistaken in stating that the new spelling was first used in the 1732 edition of *Zaïre*. See the note of Beuchot in his edition of Voltaire: "Cet Avertissement ne se trouve que dans l'édition de 1736."

The striking quality of the innovation is shown further by a letter to Berger dated April 5, 1736:

"Je lui ai envoyé [à Bauche] il y a quinze jours *Zaïre* corrigée, pour en faire une nouvelle édition. Ce sera peut-être lui que vous choisirez pour l'édition de la *Henriade*; mais c'est à condition qu'il imprimera toujours *Français* par un *a* et non par un *o*."

The first prose work in which Voltaire used the new spelling was *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*, published in 1752.<sup>4</sup>

Doubtless a trace of the old pronunciation still lingered in the speech of purists, for the letter to Berger already quoted says: "Il n'y a que l'Académie qui prononce le nom de notre nation comme celui du fondateur des capucins." But that this pronunciation had been practically superseded is shown by Voltaire's invariable argument in advocating the change, namely, that spelling should conform to pronunciation. "L'écriture," he says, in his article "Orthographe" in the *Dictionnaire philosophique*, "est la peinture de la voix: plus elle est ressemblante, meilleure elle est."

The subject is one to which Voltaire reverts frequently in his critiques, letters, and prefaces. His most complete discussion of the point is found in the article on the letter "A" in the *Dictionnaire philosophique*. Here he assembles the arguments and illustrations reiterated elsewhere in detached form. The article originally appeared in 1770, in *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*, and, as the opening sentence indicates, the reform had already made some progress:

"On commence à substituer la lettre *a* à la lettre *o* dans *français*, *française*, *anglais*, *anglaise* et dans tous les imparfaits, comme *il employait*, *il octroyait*. . . . La raison n'en est-elle pas évidente? Ne faut-il pas écrire comme on parle autant qu'on le peut? . . . Comme la coutume vicieuse de rimer pour les yeux et non pas pour les oreilles s'était introduite parmi nous, les poètes se crurent obligés de faire rimer *françois* à *lois*. . . ."

A foreigner learning French, the argument continues, would be astonished to find that *je croyois*, *j'octroyois*, are pronounced *je croyais*, *j'octroyais*.

"Les plus belles langues . . . sont celles où les mêmes syllabes portent toujours une prononciation uniforme: telle est la langue

<sup>4</sup> Note of Georges Avenel, vol. 8, p. 20, *Oeuvres Complètes de Voltaire*, edition of Garnier Frères.



italienne. . . . Vous dites *anglais, portugais, français*; mais vous dites *danois, suédois*. . . . Et pourquoi, en prononçant *anglais* et *portugais*, mettez-vous un *o* à l'un et un *a* à l'autre?"

The correspondence on this point between Voltaire and D'Alembert is of interest, and may conclude this brief presentation of the case. D'Alembert, commenting on the article just quoted, says in a letter dated March 11, 1770:

"Les remarques sur l'orthographe de *françois* sont très justes; mais on ferait peut-être bien d'ajouter que *français* ne représente guère mieux la prononciation, et qu'on devrait écrire *francès*, comme *procès*. C'est un autre abus de notre écriture que cet emploi d'*ai* pour *è*."

To this criticism Voltaire replies at length with the following list of "because" in defense of his own spelling:

"Parce que dans plusieurs livres nouveaux on emploie *français* et non pas *francès*; parce qu'on doit écrire *je fais, tu fais, il fait*, et non pas *je fès, tu fès, il fèt*; parce que la diphthongue *ai* indique bien plus sûrement la prononciation qu'un accent qu'on peut mettre de travers, qu'on peut oublier, et que les provinciaux prononcent toujours mal; parce que la diphthongue *ai* a bien plus d'analogie avec tous les mots où elle est employée; parce qu'elle montre mieux l'étymologie. *Je fais, facio; je plais, placeo; je tais, taceo*. Vous voyez qu'il y a toujours un *a* dans le latin."<sup>5</sup>

But D'Alembert, unconvinced, replies:

"Je conviens d'abord que *françois* est absurde, et que *français* est plus raisonnable; mais pourquoi employer deux lettres *a i* pour marquer un son simple comme celui de l'*è* dans *procès*? La raison de l'étymologie me paraît faible, car il y a mille autres mots où l'orthographe fait faux bond à l'étymologie, et avec raison, parce que la première règle, et la seule raisonnable, est d'écrire comme on prononce."

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<sup>5</sup> Lettre à M. D'Alembert, 19 mars, 1770.

## REVIEWS

*F F Communications*. Edited for the Folklore Fellows by Walter Anderson, Johannes Bolte, Kaarle Krohn, Knut Liestøl, C. W. von Sydow. Vols. IX-XII, Nos. 42-46, Helsingfors and Porvoo, 1922-1923; Nos. 49, 50, Helsingfors and Griefswald, 1923; Vols. XIII-XIV, Nos. 47-48, Helsingfors, 1922.

In the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, vol. xiii (1922), pp. 276-278, ten numbers (32-41) of the *F F Communications* were reviewed. Scarcely more than a year has elapsed and nine additional numbers containing most important contributions to the modern scientific study of folktales and religion have been issued. When we consider the magnitude of some of these, over four hundred and fifty pages, and the complicated presswork involved, we are lost in admiration of intellectual activity continuing under the untoward circumstances of modern Europe. The volumes are, moreover, models of typography so far as paper and print are concerned.

Of the five new numbers, one (No. 44) is a continuation of *Die Religion der Jugra-Völker* by K. F. Karjalainen, the first part of which (No. 41) I have noticed in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, xiii, 278. The second part, 386 pages, deals with the "Geisterwelt," and contains a wealth of material of the greatest value for the history of religion. This volume treats first the spirits appearing locally in the guise of human beings; then, spirits in general. There are interesting chapters also on spirits connected with diseases and on demons.

Before examining the new material I would mention briefly No. 46, *The Norwegian Fairytale. A short Summary* by Reidar Th. Christiansen, Helsingfors, 1922, pp. 40. In the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, xiii, 279, I noticed Christiansen's *Norske Folkeminne*, Kristiania, 1921, a detailed catalogue of all the Norwegian *märchen* preserved in printed books or in manuscript collections in the various libraries of Norway. In order to make this catalogue more accessible to scholars, Christiansen in the *Communication* mentioned above has given in English a *résumé* of the Norwegian tales, classified both as to *motif* and with reference to geographical distribution. In other words, this brief list is really an index to Christiansen's larger work and will greatly lighten the labors of the student of popular tales.

The new *Communications* are: vol. IX, No. 42, *Kaiser und Abt. Die Geschichte eines Schwanks* von Walter Anderson, Helsingfors, 1923, pp. vi, 449; vol. X, No. 43, *Die Religion der Ostslaven* von V. J. Mansikka, i. *Quellen*, Helsingfors, 1922, pp. 408; vol. XII, No. 45, *Die Dämonistischen Krankheiten im Finnischen Volksaberglauben, vergleichende Volksmedizinische Untersuchung* von Ilmari Manninen, Helsingfors, 1922, pp. 253; No. 47, *Das Estnisch-Ingermanländische Maie-Lied* von Antti Aarne, Helsingfors, 1922, pp. 253; *Das Lied vom Angeln der Jungfrau Vellamos* von Antti Aarne, pp. 92; No. 49, *Der singende Knochen. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Märchenforschung* von Dr. Lutz Mackensen (Helsingfors, 1923, pp. v, 174); No. 50, *Der Märchentypus von König Drosselbart* von Dr. Phil. Ernst Philipsson (Greifswald, 1923, pp. 101).

The first number (42) mentioned above is a history of the jest made famous by Bürger's "Der Kaiser und der Abt," and well known to English readers from the ballad of "King John and the Abbot of Canterbury" in Percy's *Collection*.

It was the author's intention to publish his work in Russian in the memoirs of the University of Kasan in two large volumes, one of which did appear in 1916 and filled over 520 pages, containing in great detail the literary variants of the story. The second volume of the Russian edition was completed in manuscript in 1915, but did not appear in print, owing to the Revolution and the ensuing Bolshevism. In the published volume of the original Russian work the material collected by the author and his friends was given at great length and the texts were printed in full. In the German version the oral variants are condensed into a bibliographical list, completed by a table of variants. Fortunately, the investigation into the origin and history of the story is given in the German version with only unimportant abridgments. Had the work appeared as the author originally planned, it would have been no exaggeration to say of it that it was the most extensive and thorough treatment of a single story yet produced. Even in the abbreviated German version the history fills 450 pages and treats 167 literary and 427 oral variants. The labor involved merely in tabulating this huge mass of material, much of it new, even to the most widely-read scholars, must have been enormous. What gigantic strides have been made in the study of individual stories and motifs since the days of Gaston Paris, Reinhold Köhler and Emmanuel Cosquin, will be evident from a glance at this volume, with its elaborate statistical and geographical treatment. This new method is largely due to the efforts of the scholars of Northern Europe, and has its organ in the *F F Communications*.

It is impossible in the space here available to do more than briefly notice some of the results of Anderson's investigation. The history of the story, in chronological order, is given in Chapter X, pp. 381-397. According to Anderson, the story arose in some Jewish community of the Near East (perhaps in Egypt), probably a short time before the Arabic conquest (about the beginning of the VIIth century). The oldest version spread over the other countries of the Near East and flourished there almost unchanged for over a thousand years, *vis.*, until the beginning of the XXth century, when it was written down in Mesopotamia and Ceylon. Not later than the XIIIth century, somewhere in the Christian Orient (perhaps in Greece) the old simplified version of "Der Kaiser und der Abt" arose and spread through literary channels to Bulgaria and by oral tradition to the south of France. The original version reached the west of Europe not later than the first half of the XIIIth century, possibly brought home by the French Crusaders. It is impossible to follow here the subsequent history of the story, with the changes in characters and questions, until, about the beginning of the XVIIth century, it entered literature in the form of the English ballad and, in 1784, in the *rifacimento* of the same by Bürger.

Of still greater importance, perhaps, are the results of Anderson's study of certain general principles relating to the origin and diffusion of folktales. Earlier in the study of this subject a sharp distinction was made between *märchen* and *schwänke*. The former were treated as connected with mythological and, later, anthropological origins, and their diffusion was explained in accordance with these theories. *Schwänke*, on the other hand, were accounted to be largely of literary origin and diffused chiefly through literary channels. On any other theory it seemed impossible to explain the remarkable diffusion of a great body of stories, not *märchen*, and the equally remarkable preservation unchanged of the incidents of the story. These questions are treated by Anderson in Chapter XI, pp. 397-411, "Allgemeine Beobachtungen," in which six questions are discussed, the most im-

portant of which is the first: "Das Gesetz der Selbstberichtigung der Volkserzählungen." The investigator of *märchen*, *schwänke*, etc., says Anderson, is struck by the enormous stability of these products of the popular mind. In his pursuit he perceives that long and complicated narratives live for many centuries and spread from mouth to mouth over the whole globe without suffering on their way any important change. How is this to be accounted for?

Some attribute it to the strength and clearness of the illiterate memory. Although there is some foundation for this view, it is in sharp contradiction to a well-known fact, that the individual variants in most cases are very near the original form, which, however, is almost never repeated exactly. In wandering from mouth to mouth these variations for some reason become harmonized, the gaps filled, the interpolations rejected, and the original form of the story arises anew. We face an apparently inexplicable contradiction; on one hand the constant rise of new variations from the original form, on the other the constant rapid disappearance of these variations and the reconstruction of the original story.

This extraordinary stability of popular tales is explained by Anderson on the theory that each narrator of the story has heard it not once but many times from his predecessor, and has heard it not from one person but from a whole line of persons and in various versions. The first circumstance removes the mistakes and gaps which arise from the weakness of the narrator's memory, as well as the deviations which he by chance has sometimes permitted himself; the second circumstance eliminates the mistakes and variations which are peculiar to one or other of the sources of the hearer. A popular narrator (*Volkserzähler*) hears then, as a rule, a *märchen* or *schwank* not from one person but from several and at the same time in different versions; while combining these versions and by the aid of comparison removing purely fortuitous additions and deviations from the original form, he is performing on a small scale and more or less consciously the same work as the investigator undertakes on the basis of an incomparably greater material; he reconstructs the original form of the folktale in question. It follows from what has been said that the oral variants of any tale, no matter how many we can assemble, do not allow themselves to be arranged in the form of a genealogical tree (as the manuscripts of a literary work may be); on the contrary, such a detailed tree as, for example, that constructed by Gaston Paris for the *märchen* of the "Ungrateful Wife" (*Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XIII) has not in the large majority of cases the slightest scientific significance; the utilization of new material is likely to upset in a moment the most brilliant genealogical arborization.

It is impossible to do more than mention the topics treated in the five other divisions of Chapter XI. They are: (2) Spread of variations from the original form, change of the normal form of the narrative; (3) The fortuitous preservation of modern varieties of an old form which has died out; (4) Stories of kaleidoscopic variations; (5) The ways in which popular stories are diffused; and (6) Contamination of written variants by oral ones. A word must, however, be said of Anderson's discussion in (5) of the channels of diffusion of folktales, with certain general rules, e.g., that they usually spread from peoples of a higher stage of civilization to those of a lower, and follow the paths of the most active civilized intercourse, even if they lead over great expanses of water. The diffusion of folktales is more or less hindered by all sorts of boundaries, physical, political, linguistic, cultural and religious. Interesting are the cases in which the various

kinds of boundaries do not correspond with each other. Sometimes we see the political boundaries stronger than the linguistic; sometimes the reverse is true. A very remarkable example is Belgium, where in spite of the century-long political and religious unity of the country the sharpest distinction exists between the Flemish and Walloon variants of the "Kaiser und der Abt," the former are closely connected with the German variants, the latter with the French. Charles V, so popular in North Belgium, is not even mentioned in South Belgium.

The second of the new *Communications*, Mansikka's *Die Religion der Ostslaven*, is another remarkable contribution to the history of religions, and is a model of method in the use of archaeological and written material for the reconstruction of the religious beliefs of a people in prehistoric and historical times. The author, in his preface, tells the sad story—too frequent, alas!—of the frustration of literary and scientific plans by the war and its political and economic results. The keen interest in the study of the history of the religion of the East European peoples, he says, awakened the thought of subjecting the mythological material of the East Slavic peoples, i.e., Russian, Ukrainian, and White-Russian, to a fresh examination. Three years of study in Russia during the war afforded an excellent opportunity to realize this thought, defeated to a large extent by the ensuing Revolution. In spite of these drawbacks the author collected a large amount of new material for his first volume dealing with the sources of our knowledge of the religious beliefs of the peoples in question. The archaeological contribution is slight, consisting almost wholly of material throwing light on the manner of the disposal of the dead and the inferences drawn from it. There are almost no remains of buildings used for religious purposes, places for sacrifice, altars, etc. On the other hand a rich and varied material illustrative of the burial customs of the centuries before the introduction of Christianity is afforded by the East Slavic graves. Burial and cremation were practiced, and it is evident that these various customs presuppose the fear of the power of the dead, precautions to prevent his return, worship of the dead, belief in life beyond the grave—in which state the needs of the deceased were much like those of the present life; etc.

If the archaeological material is slight, the written material is extensive and diversified. Besides historical works (Old-Russian and Polish Chronicles), there is a wealth of material in sermons, instructions, and epistles. To these must be added the Old-Russian ecclesiastical legislation, and rules for penance. All of the sources just mentioned are Old-Russian, and must be supplemented by the evidence of foreign writers. These range from Procopius, in the VIth century, to travellers, diplomats and ecclesiastical writers of the XVIIIth. The results of the study of these historical materials will be given in a second volume, devoted to the Cult of the Dead. Meanwhile the student will find in the present work, as has already been said, a very remarkable example of the use of historical writings for the reconstruction of the religious beliefs and customs of the times contemporary with them.

No. 45 of the new *Communications* deals with the diseases in Finnish popular superstition attributed to the influence of demons. Instead of finding the cause of disease within the human organism, popular belief regards it as something extraneous and produced by an external, inimical and harmful power. These external superhuman powers which are believed to be the causes of disease are divided into two groups: those exercised by superhuman beings, spirits; and magical powers controlled and utilized by fellow mortals. These two groups often commingle, as

where the magical powers employed by the magicians in invoking diseases upon their fellow-men are consciously traced to the spirits. The author of the work before us rejects the division of diseases into those produced by gods and those caused by magic, and finds that the attribution of diseases to the gods, so far as Finland is concerned, is of foreign origin. As the object of the work is not to embrace the primitive explanation of all diseases but only of those which the Finnish people attribute to spirits, divinities, demons, and animate nature, the author does not here dwell on the mutual relations between these and the diseases produced by magic, although the latter occupy an important place in Finnish pathology. No sharp line can be drawn, however, between the diseases produced by magic and those treated in this work, because magicians have often resorted to supernatural powers to bewitch their fellow-creatures. Hence the author must occasionally touch on these. By the side of these two great supernatural causes of disease, *vis.*, spirits and magic powers, the 'natural' causes of diseases have played a very slight rôle in the popular conception. Indeed, the most natural symptoms and even accidental injuries are attributed to supernatural causes.

The author divides his rich material into two parts: Diseases with reference (1) to their origin, and (2) to their outward manifestation. In the first class, in nine chapters, are considered the diseases produced by the departed spirits or bodies of the dead; by the spirits of the earth and by the earth itself; by spirits of the forest and by the forest itself; by water and water spirits; by the wind; by the fire; by house and bath spirits; by special divinities and various causes; and, finally, by the demons of disease. In each chapter the Finnish material is exhaustively treated and then compared with the beliefs of other Northern countries. These comparisons (*Vergleiche*) display the extraordinary erudition of the author and are rendered possible by an elaborate system of bibliography.

The second division treats of the outward manifestations of diseases, such as demoniacal "possession," convulsions, etc., incubus, stroke, "Hexenschuss," etc. The work ends with a consideration of the popular beliefs in regard to infection and contagion, and a final word on the most important results of the author's investigation.

The subject of the extensive monograph No. 49 is the story represented in Grimm, No. 28, "Der singende Knochen," and found as a ballad throughout all Scandinavia and Great Britain. The author treats the diffusion and contents of the story and ballad; the reconstruction of the primitive form; the home of the typical story; its age; the contributions of the individual fields of diffusion; and the literary and scientific treatment of the story. This occupies 114 pages, and is followed by 60 pages of variants, which are arranged geographically and analysed as to previous history and principal episodes. This is combined with a very exact bibliography of sources and will greatly facilitate the labors of comparative storyologists. I have not space for Dr. Mackensen's conclusions, but it may be said in brief that he regards the *märchen* as a narrative born from the beliefs and emotions (*Empfinden*) of the people, and hence can arise everywhere and in every time. The *märchen* is as old as the *Sage* and *Schwank* and like the latter serves for the earliest need of entertainment. In the words of the author: "Das märchen ist der Roman der Primitiven, daher auch sein Streben nach glücklicher Lösung."

No. 50 is also devoted to the study of one type of story (Grimm, No. 52, "König Drosselbart"). The author arranges his variants (mostly taken from Bolte and Polivka's notes to Grimm) according to the system of Kaarle Krohn, *F F C*, 13 (*ROMANIC REVIEW*, vol. VII, p. 116). The peculiarity of Dr. Philipp-

son's treatment of his variants consists in a minute analysis of the incidents of each, which are represented by letters of the alphabet, large and small. With these it is possible to construct the statistics of the *motifs* of the variants. These statistics to the uninitiated must appear like curious algebraic formulas, but are really only space and labor-saving devices.

The results of Dr. Philippson's investigations are summed up on p. 100, and may be briefly stated as follows: On geographical and historical grounds the home of this story is to be sought on German soil; the modern general (*allgemeine*) form of the story goes back to the minstrel art of the Middle Ages, whether the minstrels reconstructed the story out of the Germanic original or constructed it anew out of the German elements which are proven to have existed.

Finally, Nos. 47-48 are devoted to the comparative investigation by Antti Aarne of two *Volkslieder*: *Das Estnisch-Ingermanländische Maie-Lied*, and *Das Lied vom Angeln der Jungfrau Vellamos*. The first of these investigations deals with the widely spread Esthonian ballad of the young wife who kills her husband in his bed and flees from punishment, invoking in vain for help the trees and other natural objects which she encounters on her flight. The second investigation treats the episode in the *Kalevala* where Väinämöinen fishes in vain for the mermaid Vellamos. As Nos. 47-48 were received after this review was in print, I am able only to indicate here their subjects and hope to return later to these masterly essays in which the new methods of study of popular tales are applied to *Volkslieder*.

Once again I would earnestly call the attention of American scholars to the remarkable enterprise embodied in the *FF Communications*, of which I have reviewed fifty numbers, constituting fourteen volumes. They have revealed to the world of scholarship an entirely new method of study in folktales and indicated the whereabouts of vast masses of material hitherto unknown except to a few specialists. It is strange that this great enterprise has received so little attention in this country and in England. In spite of the troublous condition of Europe the *FF Communications* continue their uninterrupted career, and produce volume after volume of well-printed works of the highest scientific value. American scholars know how hard it is to find publishers for works of special interest. How do they manage these things in Helsingfors, Hamina, Sortavala and Porvoo?

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*Las Leys d'Amors. Manuscrit de l'Académie des Jeux Floraux.* Publié par Joseph Anglade, professeur de langue et littérature méridionales à l'Université de Toulouse, mainteneur de l'Académie des Jeux Floraux. 4 vols. Toulouse, Paris, 1919-1920.<sup>1</sup>

The manuscript which Professor Anglade has here published is one that has been preserved in the archives of the Jeux Floraux. During the past century it has tempted a number of scholars. Gatién-Arnoult, who published another version

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Anglade was born at Lézignan, département de l'Aude, in 1868. He took his degrees at the universities of Toulouse and Montpellier. After completing his studies he became professor in turn at the universities of Rennes and Nancy, and finally professor of Southern language and literature in the University of Toulouse. He was one of the founders of the *Institut d'Études Méridionales*, and for many years has been a *Mainteneur* of the *Jeux Floraux de Toulouse*. Since the publication in 1905 of his doctoral dissertation, "Le Troubadour Guiraut

of the *Leys d'Amors*, announced his intention of editing it, but failed to do so. Dumège, author of *Institutions de Toulouse* and *Biographies toulousaines*, was also attracted to the task. Camille Chabaneau printed a number of extracts from it in the *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, and intended to bring it out in its entirety, but its publication was held in abeyance until undertaken by Professor Anglade. The *Leys d'Amors* was originally a work of collaboration whose preparation occupied a period of not less than twenty or twenty-five years. According to Chabaneau there were at least three *états* of the *Leys* before the work was completed: a first one, of which perhaps the *Compendi* of Joan de Castelnou is a résumé; a second, which must have been the version in five books that was published by Gatien-Arnoult, entitled *Flors del Gay Saber*; <sup>2</sup> and the final redaction in three books, which is the one here edited by Professor Anglade. The five-book version contains treatises on Grammar, Rhetoric and Poetics. The three-book version omits the Rhetoric. In it, book I is devoted to an account of the founding of the "Gay Science," followed by a series of religious poems, and by some general notions of theology and the liberal arts. Book II is a treatise on poetics; and book III is a treatise on grammar. The historical summary gives precious information concerning the founding of the Jeux Floraux. In publishing the work, Professor Anglade has devoted a volume to each book, and a fourth volume to studies on the manuscript. In each of the three volumes of the text he has given footnotes of a paleographic nature and concordances with the edition of Gatien-Arnoult. The fourth volume is devoted to studies of the origin or beginnings of the society, to the sources from which the authors of the *Leys* drew their material, and to a history of the *Leys*. Ample footnotes are provided, and the volume is supplemented at the end by *excursus*, notes to the first three volumes, and an index of common and proper names, which serves also as a glossary.

The period of the Crusades saw the decline of feudalism and the rise to consciousness of the middle class. The profession of the Troubadour was an out-

Riquier," Professor Anglade has been identified with the scholars of South France, and has been actively engaged in research on the ancient Troubadours and their successors of the Jeux Floraux. He made his initial study of the Troubadours under the renowned Chabaneau at Montpellier. His work on the "last Troubadour," Guiraut Riquier, gave promise of what might be expected of him in the field of scholarship, and in the years that have intervened since the publication of this first work Professor Anglade has proved to be not only a prolific but a sound scholar. The following partial list of his published works affords a glimpse of the nature and range of his productive studies. His thesis was followed in 1908 by *Les Troubadours* (Paris); *Les Poésies de Peire Vidal, troubadour toulousain* (Paris, 1913); *La Bataille de Muret d'après la Chanson de la Croisade* (Toulouse, Paris, 1913); *Grammaire élémentaire de l'ancien français* (Paris, 1918); *Documents sur Toulouse et sa région* (Toulouse, Privat); *Poésies du Troubadour Rigaut de Barbesieux* (Montpellier, 1920); *Poésies du Troubadour Peire Raimon de Toulouse* (Toulouse, 1920); *Onomastique des Troubadours* (Montpellier, 1920); *Grammaire de l'ancien Provençal, ou ancienne Langue d'oc* (Paris, 1920); *Les Origines du gai savoir* (Paris, 1920); *Histoire de la Littérature méridionale au moyen âge* (Paris, 1921). Not only has Professor Anglade been an indefatigable student of the Troubadours and the literature of the South, but he has imbibed the ancient spirit of the Gay Science to such an extent that his circle of devoted friends have dubbed him "le dernier Troubadour," at times converting the phrase with covert mischievousness into "le dernier des Troubadours." In Anglade are combined that gayety of heart and sober philosophy of life which were characteristic of many of the old Troubadours. [Titles since 1921 not included.]

<sup>2</sup> Under the same title there is a version of the *Leys* in verse, as yet unedited.



growth of feudalism, and the poetry of the Troubadours had been primarily aristocratic, composed for the entertainment of the nobles in manor-house and château. With the decline of feudalism came a corresponding decadence of poetry, violently hastened by the crusade against the Albigenses, when what is now Southern France passed under the control of the king of France. In order to consolidate the gains of the church from this religious conquest, the Pope founded the University of Toulouse in 1229 and established the Inquisition, with headquarters at Toulouse. By the end of the fourteenth century Toulouse and the surrounding territory had become thoroughly subdued to orthodoxy and submissive to the church. The Albigensian war was fatal to the Troubadours, many of whom lost their lives in the course of it, while still others sought safety in flight to foreign lands—principally Italy and Spain. Notwithstanding the troubles of the times, however, the spirit of poetry survived, and poetry continued to be produced throughout the thirteenth century. The period of the Troubadours closes with Guiraut Riquier, who died in the last decade of the century. Of Riquier's poems many were pervaded by a religious tone, and this character of devoutness was bequeathed to his successors of the literary association known as the *Consistory de la Gaya Sciensa* (otherwise called *Gay Saber*), which was organized at Toulouse in 1323.

The circumstances of its foundation were as follows: On Tuesday after All Saints' Day of that year, seven self-styled Troubadours met in a leafy grove in a *faubourg* of Toulouse and sent out a letter, composed in verse, to the poets of the South inviting them to gather there from the first to the third of May of the year next following, for a poetic tournament in which each should sing and recite his compositions. Of the original seven, only one belonged to the nobility; the rest were of the *bourgeoisie*. This is significant of the great social change which by that time had taken place. The contest for which invitations had been sent out took place on May 1-3 of the following year, 1324. The prize, a golden violet,<sup>3</sup> was awarded to Arnaut Vidal, of Castelnaudary, who furthermore received the same year the title of Doctor of Gay Science for a *chanson* which he had composed in honor of the Virgin. The reunion of the poets became a fixed annual custom, and the seven founders became the official body known as the *Mainteneurs*.<sup>4</sup> The Consistory came to be modeled after the university, being presided over by a Chancellor and granting degrees entitled Bachelor of Gay Saber and Doctor of Gay Saber (or *Gaya Sciensa*). Further to carry out the parallel with the university, the founders felt the need of a text-book from which they might give instruction to the aspirants. They determined to prepare a book of rules, and confided this task to the Chancellor Guilhem Molinier, under whose leadership the work by successive stages reached its final completion in 1536 and was called *Las Leys d'Amors*. Poetry was called "Amors," and the winning poet "Fin Ayman."

"Amors es bona voluntatz,  
Plazers e deziriers de be,  
E desplazers del mal que ve."—*Leys*, t. i, p. 69.

This definition reveals at once the moral and religious intention of the *Mainteneurs* of the Gay Science in contrast with the ideal of profane love of the earlier

<sup>3</sup> Per quals dictaz hom dona las dictas joyas, so es assaber: flor de violets de fin aur, flor d'ayglentina, e flor de gaug de fin argen.—*Leys*, t. ii, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Li senhor acostumat a jutjar e donar las ditas joyas e cil que son recebut e creat per lor son nommat *Mantenedor del Gay Saber* o *Mantenedor d'Amors* o *del joy d'Amors*.—*Leys*, t. ii, p. 27.

Troubadours. The author of the *Leys* endeavors to give broad significance to the work by connecting it with philosophy: "Philosophia se deshen e-s deriva d'aquesta dictio greca *philos*, que vol dir *amor*, e per so Amors pot esser dicha mayres de philosophia." And philosophy embraces the liberal arts. In this manner the author connects the *Leys* with the usual curriculum of the middle ages, the Quadrivium and the Trivium, carrying out the idea of a text-book which should be in harmony with the conventional course of study of the times. This idea is carried further in the inclusion of treatments of theology and ethics.

In his investigations Professor Anglade has included an illuminating study of the sources of the *Leys*. Its authors were obviously influenced by the writers of antiquity. The writers of the middle ages generally knew the great works of antiquity only through excerpts or extracts, in which the apocryphal was freely intermingled with the genuine. Our editor concludes that Guilhem Molinier used only second-hand knowledge of the ancient writers. He drew freely from the *Trésor* of Brunetto Latini, and from the *Ars loquendi et tacendi* and other works of Albertano da Brescia, the *Compendium theologicæ veritatis* (which he attributes to Saint Thomas), and the treatises of Saint Martin de Braga. He also utilized passages from the Bible, and from the church fathers, which he drew from the above-mentioned treatises. The poetic examples are drawn largely from the Troubadour N'At de Mons. The editor draws the conclusion that

"la manière de composer de l'auteur des *Leys* est donc conforme à la méthode employée au Moyen âge, époque où la recherche de l'originalité, du moins dans les ouvrages didactiques, avait peu d'importance, et où le fin de l'art consistait à bien choisir un modèle et à le piller vigoureusement, tantôt en le nommant, le plus souvent sans lui faire même cet honneur."

The grammatical sources are to be found in Priscian, Isidore of Seville, Donatus, Évrard de Béthune, and probably Alexandre de Villedieu, whose *Doctrinale* was a very popular text-book in the universities of the middle ages.

"En résumé, le fonds des doctrines grammaticales des *Leys* est emprunté aux grammairiens latins, et, en particulier, à Priscien, à Isidore de Séville et à Donat. Ces doctrines s'étaient déformées pendant le Moyen âge. Aussi l'œuvre de Guilhem Molinier porte la trace de ces déformations. Il a sans doute connu dans leur texte les grammairiens latins qu'il cite; mais il connaissait aussi ses contemporains. Et surtout la langue à laquelle il a cherché à appliquer les règles latines était par sa structure assez différente de la langue-mère. Toutes ces causes réunies font que Guilhem Molinier, tout en voulant conserver la doctrine grammaticale des Latins, a écrit une œuvre relativement originale."

A valuable feature of the editor's work is his study entitled "Histoire des *Leys d'Amors*." The Consistory of Gay Science desired that Chancellor Molinier should assemble in a single text all the knowledge that had hitherto been dispersed in divers works. He was acquainted with the grammatical treatises which had been composed before him: *Las Rasos de trobar* of Raimon Vidal de Besalu (an abridged grammar which is several times quoted in the *Leys*); the *Donatz Proensals* of Uc Faïdit, a treatise on metrics as well as on grammar which does not seem to have been well known in the region of the Langue d'Oc, but which was known to the authors of the *Leys*. A *remaniement* of this work was made towards the end of the thirteenth century by a Catalan, Jaufre de Foixá. In September, 1324, shortly after the first contest of the Gay Science, Raimon de Cornet wrote a *Doctrinal de trobar*, and in 1341 appeared a *Glose* on this work by Joan de Castelnou, in which occurs the earliest mention of the *Leys* that has been found. Joan de Castelnou was also author of a *Compendi* or abridgment of the *Leys d'Amors*.

The most ardent disciples of the Toulouse school were the Catalans. The Catalan poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries used the literary language of the Troubadours. In the fourteenth century, the poetic language of the Catalans assumes its own personality, but the spirit which animates it is that of the Toulouse school. This influence, although not always a fortunate one, persisted for several centuries. Two Catalan poets received prizes at Toulouse in the fourteenth century; a manuscript written in Catalonia in the same century contains, in addition to poems of Catalan Troubadours, a series of poems of the Toulouse school which are not to be found elsewhere. In 1371, scarcely sixteen years after the "promulgation" of the *Leys d'Amors*, King Peter IV of Aragon, poet and protector of poetry, intrusted to one of his councilors, Jacme March, the task of drawing up a book of concordances or dictionary of rhymes. Finally, in 1393, John I, king of Aragon, commissioned this same Jacme March and a certain Luis de Aversó, citizen of Barcelona, to establish in Barcelona a Consistory modeled after that of Toulouse. In 1398 King Martin gave to the Consistory 40 florins in gold for founding prizes, and Ferdinand I gave a like amount in 1413. To this period belong a Catalan translation of one of the prose versions of the *Leys d'Amors* and the versified redaction of the *Flors del Gai Saber*, the manuscript of the latter being the only one which has been preserved. March's book of concordances remains unedited. Luis de Aversó, in order to spread a knowledge of the *Gaya Sciensa* among his compatriots, composed a *Torcimany* or dictionary "loqual tracta de la Sciencia gaya de trobar."

From Barcelona the influence of the Gay Saber spread early into the kingdom of Majorca, as is evidenced by Enrique Villena, who quotes from a Majorcan, Guillem Vedel, author of a treatise oddly called after his own name, *Suma Vitulina*. In Castile and Portugal the Gay Science seems to have had less influence than in Catalonia. Only the title has been preserved of Juan Manuel's *Arte de trobar*, which was probably influenced by an earlier draft of the *Leys*. A remaining fragment of a *Poetics* seems to echo a distant influence of the *Leys*. Berenguer de Noya, a native probably of Majorca, composed a *Mirall de trobar*, which must have been inspired at least by the *Leys*. While only fragments are extant of Villena's *Arte de trobar*, they are sufficient to show the influence of the Toulouse school. The Marquess of Santillana seems to know the Provençal poets only through his master Villena. Baena was no doubt familiar with a version of the *Leys*. The Catalan chronicler Miquel Carbonnell is authority for the statement that a Catalan poet of the fifteenth century, Jaume Ripoll, had commented in Catalan verse on the *Leys*. The *Art nova de trobar* of the Majorcan Francesch de Olesa contains as it were a last echo of the *Leys*. The *Leys d'Amors* does not seem to have been known to the writers of the *langue d'oïl*. Not until 1539 is an echo found in the *Art et Science de Rhétorique* of Gratien Du Pont, of Toulouse. At the end of the sixteenth century Pierre du Faur de Saint Jory finds occasion to quote from the *Leys* in his *Agnosticon*, where he compares the poetic jousts of the Jeux Floraux to the games of antiquity.

Professor Anglade has accomplished a well-rounded piece of work. His edition of the *Leys d'Amors* will no doubt take rank as a monument among the productions of its kind.

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